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SIR PERCEVAL OF GALLES  
A STUDY OF THE SOURCES OF THE LEGEND

A DISSERTATION

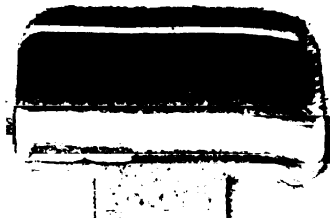
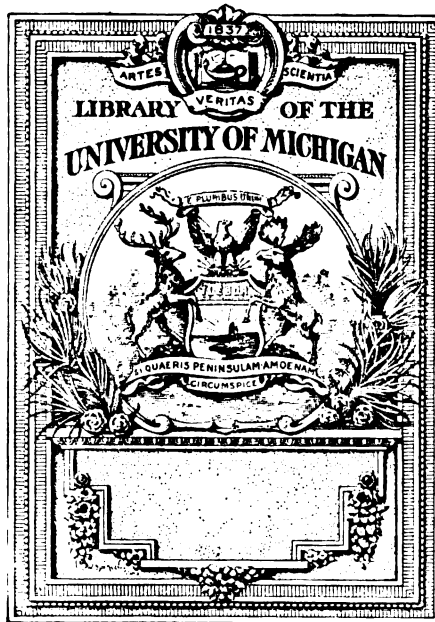
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND  
LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH)

BY

REGINALD HARVEY GRIFFITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



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**Published March 1911**

**Composed and Printed By  
The University of Chicago Press  
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.**

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## PREFACE

In making this investigation, many obstacles besides the scantiness of time allowed by classroom duties have had to be overcome. The University of Texas library is not a large one, and, in the field immediately concerned, is weak. Access to needed books has been had only in summer vacations and in libraries a thousand miles and more away from Austin. The difficulty continues a very present one. In seeing the book through the press, I have not been able to verify references by a comparison with original authorities, but have had to rely upon my manuscript notes. To hope that no errors have crept in is unreasonable; but I trust the reader will find them few, and will believe that I have made a painstaking endeavor to avoid them.

In seeking the origins of the Perceval tale, I have circumscribed the interpretation of "origins." It is the immediate ancestry, not the ultimate source, that has here been sought. I have made no inquiry into Old Irish literature in the expectation of pointing out its parallels to the Perceval tale, if such there be; nor any into folklore domains in the hope of tracing the tale or its elements to an origin in custom, myth, or religion. Finally, the Grail problem lies outside the limits of this investigation, since no allusion to the Grail occurs in the English poem which is taken as the point of departure.

In several ways this study is incomplete, as perhaps any study of its kind must be. The number of tales discussed is large, for I have mentioned every tale I have found that appears to throw light on the origin of the tale of Perceval as it is told in *Sir Perceval of Galles*; but the collection makes no pretense to finality. There are doubtless many variants now unknown to me. If the reader will indicate any such, I shall feel much beholden to him. In especial, the tale which is studied in chapter III (the tale in which a despised youth avenges an insult to his king and relieves his relatives from the attacks of an army that, slain every day, is restored to life every night by a hag with a reviving cordial) is

intrinsically most interesting, and would surely repay investigation. J. F. Campbell says his MSS contained variants. Still others are doubtless procurable. Any tales, too, that appear akin to the story of the secondary heroine, the lady whom Perceval kissed and so brought into reproach, will be welcome additions.

The courtesies I have received from many people are remembered most kindly and with a lively sense of obligation. To Professor John M. Manly, of the University of Chicago, I owe a debt of gratitude for inducting me into the mystery and fascination of mediaeval romance. The late Alfred Nutt, whose recent death seems a personal loss to me, was very kind when I ventured to seek him in his house of business some years ago. Miss Jessie L. Weston was cordially friendly when I had opportunity to discuss *Sir Perceval* with her one summer. To the books and articles of the many students who have preceded me my indebtedness is writ large on every page. The authorities of Lincoln Cathedral, of the British Museum, of the Library of Congress, and of the university libraries at Yale, Harvard, Chicago, Wisconsin, and Texas I desire to thank heartily for their many favors. And to my colleagues and very good friends, Professor Callaway, Professor Campbell, and Dr. Law, my very best thanks are due for criticism and many another deed of kindness; all of them have "read proof" for me; how can friendship do more?—unless it be to "read proof" twice, as Professor Campbell and Professor Callaway have both done.

R. H. GRIFFITH

AUSTIN, TEXAS, U.S.A.

March 7, 1911

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## INTRODUCTION

The problem to which the following pages address themselves concerns the origin of the mediaeval English poem *Sir Perceval of Galles*, whether or not it is the offspring of a romance composed in French by Crestien de Troyes and now commonly known as *Perceval le Gallois, ou le Conte du Graal*.

The materials from which to draw evidence for an argument are a group of tales<sup>1</sup> gathered from widely separated places—from England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, from France, Germany, and Italy. They may be listed as follows:

1. *SP.*—*Sir Perceval of Galles* (ca. 1370) is a Middle-English metrical romance, preserved, with some imperfections and slight irregularities, as 143 sixteen-line stanzas (2,288 lines), in a single MS, the Thornton MS of Lincoln Cathedral. It was printed by J. O. Halliwell in *The Thornton Romances* (pp. 1-87), for the Camden Society in 1844, and reprinted at the Kelmescott Press in 1895. Its dialect is Northwest Midland, its date about the middle of the fourteenth century (some of its phrases are quoted in Chaucer's "Sir Thopas"); its author is unknown, but its rhyme-scheme and plot-structure indicate that the composer was not without practice.<sup>2</sup>

2. *C.*—Crestien's tale of Perceval, *Le Conte du Graal* (ca. 1175), is an uncompleted poem of about 9,300 lines in Old French. It usually appears as part of a mass of verse that grew up around it.

This composite mass developed because of the desire of other poets to finish what Crestien left unfinished. No single book contains all of it. There are sixteen MSS, the longest of which stretched its meter to the length (impossible, let us hope, outside of an antique song) of more than 63,000 lines. A prose redaction was printed in Paris in 1530, and Potvin edited the larger part of the "poem" as *Perceval le Gallois, ou le Conte du Graal*, in six volumes, Mons, 1866-71. Besides Crestien, three other contributors are known by name, Wauchier (Gaucher, Gautier), Manessier, and Gerbert; but the limits

<sup>1</sup> I have uniformly used the word "tale" to mean the whole account any one author gives of his hero; "story" to mean a group of incidents more closely bound to each other than to other incidents in the tale in which they stand—a circle within a circle, so to speak.

<sup>2</sup> For working bibliography see A. H. Billings, "A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances," *Yale Studies in English* (1901), 125 ff.

of the portions they contributed are uncertain. At least two writers prefixed introductions to Crestien's lines. One of these introductions and the portions by Crestien and Gerbert are the parts of the "poem" I have used most.

3. *PC.*—The second of the two introductions just mentioned is about 800 lines long; once thought by some scholars to be by Crestien, it is now considered the work of an anonymous contributor, and is referred to as one of the "pseudo-Crestien" portions. It is preserved in two MSS, Mons and British Museum Add. 36,614; its substance appears in part in the prose redaction of 1530; and it is printed in full from MS Mons by Potvin. The first introduction (Potvin, 1-484) may be referred to as *Elucidation*.

4. *G.*—Gerbert's "Continuation" is preserved in two MSS, but it has not been printed. I have had to rely upon two résumés, one given by Potvin (Vol. VI) and the other by Miss Weston in *The Library* (magazine), January, 1904. Gerbert's 10,000 lines appear in the MSS between the parts by Wauchier and Manessier.

If the reader will imagine Potvin's edition revised so as to place Gerbert's lines before Manessier's, he may gather from the appended table an idea of the various parts of the *Conte*.

Author	Lines	Nature of Contents	Assigned Date
Anonymous. ....	1-484	"Elucidation"; Grail's mystery and winners	1220-30
Anonymous. ....	485-1,282	Death of Perceval's father; flight of his mother	1220-30
Crestien de Troyes. ....	1,283-10,601	Perceval's deeds; Gawain's adventures	1175
Wauchier, and Interpolators. ....	10,602-34,934	Adventures of Perceval and others	1190-1200
Gerbert. ....	34,935-ca. 45,000	Ditto	1216-25
Manessier, and Interpolators. ....	ca. 45,000-ca. 63,000	Ditto	1210-20

For discussions of these tales see the books mentioned on pp. 7 ff., *infra*, and the authorities to which they in turn refer.

5. *W.*—*Parzival* (?1200-1216), a Middle-High-German poem by Wolfram von Eschenbach, has been preserved in many MSS and edited by several scholars. I have used editions by K. Bartsch (*Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1875-77), P. Piper (*Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Stuttgart, 1890-92), and K. Lach-

mann (4th ed., Berlin, 1879); translations by Hertz and by Botticher into modern German; and the translation by Miss Weston into English. The poem is arranged in sixteen books, averaging about 1,500 lines each. Books I-VI and XIV are the ones I have used most. My references are to Bartsch's edition.

6. *Pd.*—*Peredur* (?1250-1350), a Welsh prose tale in which the hero is Perceval under another name, is preserved in the Welsh *Red Book of Hergest*, dating from 1300(?) to 1350(?). It was translated into English by Lady Charlotte Guest (*The Mabinogion*, 1838-49), and into French by J. Loth (in D. de Jubainville's *Cours de Litt. Celtique*, Vol. IV, Paris, 1889). Reprints of Lady Guest's text issued by D. Nutt, 1902, 1904, by Dent, 1906, and by other publishers have made *Peredur* the most easily accessible of all the versions of the Perceval tale. My references are by pages to Nutt's reprint (when no name is given) and to Loth's translation.

I have not had opportunity to see *The White Book Mabinogion: Welsh Tales and Romances Reproduced from the Peniarth MSS*, edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Pwllheli, 1909. In his review of this volume (*Folk Lore*, June, 1910, pp. 237-46), Nutt comments upon Evans' Introduction.

7. *Ty.*—*Tyolet* (?1250), a French *lai* preserved in a single MS, was printed by G. Paris in *Romania*, VIII (1879). The 704 lines of the poem fall into two parts: (a) the early life of Tyolet and his coming to court (1-320); (b) the adventure of the White Stag, whereby Tyolet wins a wife (321-704). I have used all of the first part, and the concluding lines of the second.

8. *Card.*—*Carduino* (?1375), an Italian poem, was published from a unique MS by Rajna in 1873 (*Poemeti Cavallereschi*, Bologna). A portion of the poem is wanting in the middle. There remain two cantos, one of thirty-five eight-line stanzas, the other of seventy-two. My references are to stanzas.

*Card* is the most primitive of its group of four tales; the others are *Libeaus Desconus* (*LD*), *Bel Inconnu* (*BI*), and *Wigalois* (*Wig*). For an excellent study of the group cf. W. H. Schofield, "Studies on the Libeaus Desconus," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, IV, 1895.

9. *Yv.*—*Yvain* (?1165), by Crestien de Troyes, ed. by W. Foerster, Halle, 1887, and later years. References are to the edition of 1906.



10. *LF.*—*The Lady of the Fountain* (?1250), the Welsh version of the Iwain tale, is accessible in Lady Guest's *Mabinogion* (Nutt's reprint, pp. 167 ff.) and in Loth's translation (ref. as for *Pd, supra*), pp. 1 ff.

On 9-10, see a valuable essay by A. C. L. Brown, "Iwain: A Study in the Origins of Arthurian Romance" (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, 1-147), 1903; and Foerster's comment on Brown's book, *Yvain* (ed. 1906), p. xlix.

Besides the materials already mentioned there are some folk-tales still current that furnish evidence. These tales are told of different heroes, and no one of them relates more than a portion of the adventures attributed to Perceval. Often, indeed, it requires a comparative study to show that the adventures are akin. The citation of these tales, however, makes it possible for us to study the evolution of the Perceval tale. They are presented in three groups.

#### THE SCOTCH GROUP

11. *Fool.*—*Amadan Mor, or the Lay of the Great Fool.*<sup>1</sup>

12. *Red Sh.*—*The Knight of the Red Shield.*

13. *Conall.*—*Conall Gulban.*<sup>2</sup>

14. *Een.*—*How the Een Was Set Up.*<sup>3</sup>

11-14 are from J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (four vols., London, 1890-93): *Fool*, III, 160-93; *Red Sh*, II, 451-93; *Conall*, III, 199-297; *Een*, III, 348-60.

15. *Manus.*—*A Tale of Young Manus.*

MacInnes and Nutt, "Folk and Hero Tales of Argyllshire," *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, II (1890), 338-75.

<sup>1</sup> There are other versions of the *Lay*, which may be spoken of as variants: var. *a* is O'Daly's, in *Transactions of the Ossianic Soc.*, VI, 161-207; var. *b*, "Amadan Mor and the Gruagach of the Castle of Gold," in Curtin's *Hero Tales of Ireland*, 140-62; and var. *c*, "The Amadhan Mor," in Kennedy's *Bardic Stories of Ireland* (1871), 151-55.

<sup>2</sup> *Conall* var. *a*, "The Adventures of Conall Gulban," is in Kennedy's *Bardic Stories of Ireland*, 156-60; its variations do not help us. Dr. D. Hyde says (*Beside the Fire* [London, 1890], p. xxxii): "On comparing [Campbell's *Conall*] with an Irish MS, by Father Manus O'Donnell, made in 1708, and another made about the beginning of this century, by Michael O'Longan, of Carricknavar, I was surprised to find incident following incident with wonderful regularity in both versions."

<sup>3</sup> There are several versions of Fionn's youthful deeds, which only in part parallel those of Perceval. A second version is "The Boyish Exploits of Finn MacCumhail" in *Transactions of the Ossianic Soc.* (Dublin, 1859). A third is "The Birth of Finn MacCumhail"; see chap. iii, 64, *infra*.

16. *Big Men*.—*Fin MacCoul in the Kingdom of the Big Men*.

17. *Ransom*.—*Fionn's Ransom*.

16-17 are in J. G. Campbell, "The Fians," *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, IV, 175-91, 242-57.

#### THE IRISH GROUP

18. *Lonesome*.—*The King of Erin and the Queen of Lonesome Island*.

19. *Kil A*.—*Kil Arthur*.

20. *Fear Dubh*.—*Fin MacCumhail and the Fenians of Erin in the Castle of Fear Dubh*.

18-20 are in J. Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* (Boston, 1890), 93-113, 175-85, 221-31.

21. *Coldfeet*.—*Coldfeet and the Queen of Lonesome Island*.

22. *Lawn D*.—*Lawn Dyarrig, Son of the King of Erin, and the Green Knight of Terrible Valley*.

23. *Faolan*.—*Fin MacCool, Faolan, and the Mountain of Happiness*.

21-23 are in J. Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland* (Boston, 1894), 242-61, 262-82, 484-513.

24. *Mananaun*.—*King Mananaun*.

25. *Red Belt*.—*The Champion of the Red Belt*.

24-25 are in W. Larminie, *West Irish Folk Tales and Romances* (London, 1893), 64-84, 85-105.

26. *D'yerree*.—*The Well of D'yerree-in-Dowan*.

D. Hyde, *Beside the Fire* (London, 1890), 129-41.

27. *Dough*.—*Amadan of the Dough*.

28. *Hookedy*.—*Hookedy-Crookedy*.

27-28 are in S. MacManus, *Donegal Fairy Tales* (New York, 1900), 29-57, 95-133.

29. *Golden Mines*.—*Queen of the Golden Mines*.

S. MacManus, *In Chimney Corners* (New York, 1899), 37-53.

## THE WELSH GROUP

30. *Kg of Eng.—King of England and His Three Sons.*

J. Jacobs, *More English Fairy Tales* (1894), 132-45. Although in a book of English tales, this tale, so a note implies, came from a gypsy in Wales.

## BRETON TALES

The two tales of *Morvan Lez Breiz*, and *Peronnik l'Idiot* I have not used: primarily, because they offer no help; *Morvan* offers only the battle against a black giant, the "More du Roi," which bears but the faintest likeness to a part of *SP*, and gives no help at all, and *Peronnik* is like *SP* in only two places—the beginning and the end—and only vaguely similar there; and secondarily because de la Villemarqué's *Morvan* has been discredited, and Souvestre's *Peronnik* has been suspected of being not altogether a folk-tale, not altogether free, i.e., from "cooking."

## TEUTONIC TALES

Nutt, "Mabinogion Studies," *Folk Lore Record*, V (1882), 1-32, compares *Red Sh* with the Faroese *Högnilied*, with parts of the *Volsunga* and the *Thidrek Sagas*, and with the Hilde legend (mentioned in Bartsch's *Kudrun*, pp. v-viii). I have not been able to get at the books for a proper study of the Hild story, and cannot tell whether it is akin to the "Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story" of chapter III, *infra*, or not. Two versions given in Magnússon and Morris' *Three Northern Love Stories* (London, 1901) give no evidence of kinship; the same statement holds for Saxo Grammaticus; for the brief outlines in Bartsch's and in Symons' editions of *Gudrun* and in Schofield's translation (pp. 193-94) of S. Bugge's *The Home of the Eddic Poems* (London, 1899); and for the discussions in Paul's *Grundriss* (2d ed.), III, 711, in F. Panzer's *Hilde-Gudrun* (1901), and in F. E. Sandbach's *Nibelungenlied and Gudrun in England and America* (1903).

For the tales that I have listed the source has been carefully stated by all the collectors except MacManus.

Other tales are referred to, but bibliographical information concerning them is given in notes.

On the propriety of using these tales, see the note on p. 41, *infra*.

In the seventy years since the matter began to be much discussed, almost every shade of opinion possible has been expressed concerning the relation of the English *Sir Perceval* to the French *Conte du Graal*. The English poem makes no mention of the Grail, yet, paradoxically, every scholar who has studied the origin of the Grail legend has been forced to consider the *Sir Perceval*. Digests of the body of the literature that has thus grown up are to be found in several places; e.g., in A. Nutt's *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail* (London, 1888); in E. Wechssler's *Die Sage vom heiligen Gral in ihrer Entwicklung bis auf Richard Wagners Parsifal* (Halle, 1898); and in Miss J. L. Weston's *Legend of Sir Perceval* (London, 1906-9). On the more restricted subject, the relation of the English poem to the French, a good working résumé is given by Miss A. H. Billings, in her "Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances," *Yale Studies*, IX (1901). It does not seem advisable to recapitulate here all the opinions scholars have expressed, but the leading ones, arranged in groups, may be stated.

#### FIRST GROUP: GERVINUS AND GASTON PARIS

1871. Gervinus, G. G. *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*. 3 vols. Leipzig. Fünfte völlig umgearbeitete Auflage.—I, 576-77: "Wir haben oben die bretagnischen Volkslieder von Morvan erwähnt, die von seiner einsamen Wald-erziehung erzählen, und wie er seine Mutter, nach Ritterthaten dürstend, verlässt, die dann der Gram um ihn tödtet. Ob diese einfache Sage zuerst an dem Namen Morvan oder an welchem anderen gehaftet habe, ist gleichgültig; gewiss ist sie der Kern und Rahmen der Sage, deren Held im 12. Jahrh. in wälschen und romanischen Erzählungen die Namen Peredur und Parzival führt. In einer sehr volkstümlichen Gestalt, die an jenem einfachen Kern am treuesten festhält, ist die Sage in einem späten, strophisch abgetheilten, burlesken Gedichte eines englischen Bänkelsängers des 14. Jahrs. erhalten, das einem älteren bretagnischen Lai nacherzählt sein mag."

1883. Paris, Gaston. "Perceval et la légende du Saint-Graal," *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Cercle Saint-Simon*, II (November, 1882, Paris): "Le conte de Perceval appartient à la tradition galloise, recueillie de la bouche

des conteurs et musiciens gallois par les jongleurs et trouveurs normands ou français après la conquête de l'Angleterre. La forme la plus authentique de ce conte nous est sans doute représentée par un poème anglais du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, *Sir Perzivell*, dans lequel le *graal* ne joue encore aucun rôle. . . . Le *Sir Perzivell* s'appuie certainement sur un poème anglo-normand perdu, et nous offre un spécimen des romans biographiques qui forment la plus ancienne couche des romans français du cycle breton" (pp. 98-99).

1888. [Paris, Gaston.] *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Ouvrage commencé par des Religieux Bénédictins, etc. (Paris), Vol. XXX: "L'éditeur, M. Halliwell, le (SP) regardait tout simplement comme un abrégé très sommaire du Perceval de Chrétien et des continuations de ce poème. Une telle opinion n'est pas soutenable. . . . Le 'Sir Percevelle' remonte donc à une autre source, et sans doute à un poème anglo-normand (p. 259). . . . La vraie place de 'Sir Percevelle' dans l'évolution du cycle toujours amplifié de Perceval a, au contraire, été parfaitement discernée par un savant qui est un poète. . . . M. Wilhelm Hertz . . . a montré que le poème anglais nous représente, sous une forme assez voisine de l'original, quoique altérée, un des éléments primordiaux qui sont entrés dans la composition du conte gallois et du roman français. Il faut ajouter, comme nous l'avons dit, que ce poème repose très probablement sur un poème anglo-normand, derrière lequel on peut avec vraisemblance chercher un conte purement celtique" (p. 261).

#### SECOND GROUP: STEINBACH, NUTT, AND KÖLBING

1885. Steinbach, Paul. *Ueber den einfluss des Crestien de Troies auf die altenglische literatur*. Diss., Leipzig: "Dass diese annahme des berühmten literar-historikers (Gervinus) betreffs der vorlage unseres gedichtes entschieden eine irrige zu nennen ist, wird die folgende untersuchung zeigen (p. 28). . . . Bis vers 820 folgt der engl. dichter genau dem gange der erzählung des französischen gedichtes (hier bis vers 2400), mit nur wenigen und nicht bedeutenden abänderungen, . . . dagegen manchen punkt weglassend und stark kürzend. Von vers 821 finden wir . . . Cr. mehr oder weniger frei benutzt (35). . . . In einen, ursprünglich bretonischen überlieferungen entstammenden rahmen hat er [the English poet] in freier kürzender bearbeitung, unter benutzung einiger vielleicht bei den in England wohnenden Bretonen vorgefundenen volkstümlichen züge, teils älteren, teils neueren ursprungs, und unter hinzu-fügung einiger an die schilderung von kämpfen in den Chansons de geste erinnernder partien, das Crestiensche werk 'Li contes del graal' bis ca. v. 6000 eingeschoben, indem er sich dabei im ersten teile seines gedichtes (bis v. 821) mehr, im letzteren weniger an dasselbe anlehnt und zugleich mit bemerkenswerter konsequenz jede berührung mit der gralsage vermeidet" (41).

1881. Nutt, Alfred. "The Aryan Expulsion-and-Return Formula in the Folk and Hero-Tales of the Celts," *Folk-Lore Record*, IV, 1-44: "Schulz's opinion that the English romance is a translation or a close imitation of a twelfth-

century Breton poem is probably correct. The romance represents at any rate an independent and, in many respects, older treatment of the subject than the Mabinogi" (11).

1888. Nutt, Alfred. *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, etc., London: Nutt restates Steinbach's view, and adds, "The use of Chrestien by the author of Sir Perceval seems, however, uncontested: and, such being the case, Steinbach's views meet the difficulties of the case fairly well" (150).

1891. Nutt, Alfred. "Les derniers travaux allemands sur la légende du Saint Graal," *Revue Celtique*; same art., *Folk Lore*, II, Appendix: "Mais M. Golther a-t-il parfaitement raison? Il n'expose nulle part sa thèse d'une façon claire, mais je ne crois pas aller au delà de sa pensée en la formulant ainsi: Chrestien a le premier traité le sujet de la quête du Graal et de la lance qui saigne; tout ce qui a été écrit depuis relève de son roman inachevé et a été écrit dans le but de le compléter; à la vérité il avoue avoir puisé à une source antérieure, mais cette source est entièrement perdue et n'a eu aucune influence sur les autres écrivains du cycle [*Folk Lore*, p. xxv]. . . . Je n'ai pu que me rencontrer avec des érudits distingués, en y reconnaissant des traits archaïques [in *SP*]. L'auteur, on le sait, laisse absolument de côté tout ce qui, chez Chrestien, se rapporte au Graal. La faute en est toujours, d'après M. Golther, aux allures énigmatiques du poète français; dans le doute, le traducteur anglais s'est abstenu. Voilà une réserve dont on trouverait difficilement un second exemple chez les écrivains du moyen âge. Mais lui aussi a connu non seulement Menneier, auquel, d'après l'indication formelle de M. Golther, il a emprunté la fin de son roman, mais aussi Gerbert, auquel, *ex hypothesi*, il a dû emprunter, en dénaturant étrangement, l'épisode de la vieille sorcière. Lui donc aussi, il a négligé les indications formelles de ses modèles sur la nature et la provenance du Graal; lui qui *ex hypothesi Goltheri* écrivait vers 1250 au plus tôt (Gerbert est de 1230-1240), a ignoré l'immense littérature qui existait dès lors sur l'histoire du Graal" (xxxiv).

1895-96. Kölbing, E. *Vollmöllers Jahresbericht*, etc., II, 429: "Während W. Golther das englische Gedicht unmittelbar auf Crestiens Werk zurückführen will und es als eine freie Bearbeitung des Conte del Graal und einzelner Motive aus Werken seiner Fortsetzer bezeichnet, deren eigene Züge sämtlich dem Kopfe des Bearbeiters entsprungen seien, erblickt A. Nutt in dieser Fassung eine Verquickung von Crestiens Epos allein (ohne die Fortsetzungen) mit keltischen Sagen. Ich muss gestehen, dass mir vor der Hand Nutts Ansicht mehr Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich zu haben scheint."

### THIRD GROUP: GOLTHER, SUCHIER-BIRCH-HIRSCHFELD, AND NEWELL

1890. Golther, W. *Chrestiens conte del graal in seinem verhältniss zum wälschen Peredur und zum englischen Perceval*. Sitzungsberichte der phil.-phil. u. hist. Classe der Bayern Akad. d. Wiss. Munich, II, 174-217: "Dass das

gedicht [SP] unter dem einfluss Chrestiens steht, kann nicht bestritten werden. Es erhebt sich nur die frage, wie die von Chrestien abweichenden züge aufzufassen sind (203). . . . Das englische gedicht ist u. e. unmittelbar auf Chrestiens werk zurückzuführen so gut wie das *mabinogi*; es ist eine freie bearbeitung des *conte del graal*; die ihm eigenen züge entstammen sämtlich dem kopfe des bearbeiters und dürfen nicht für die erklärung der Perceval-sage irgendwie benützt werden, für welche es, als aus einer bekannten französischen vorlage abgeleitet, überhaupt nicht in betracht kommt (207). . . . Alle anderen quellen haben für diese frage, als aus Chrestien abgeleitet, gar keine bedeutung. Jeder andere standpunct trägt von vornherein unlösliche wirren in die forschung (213). . . . Auf den ursprung der letzteren [the thoren-märchen as distinct from the graalsage], der keineswegs aufs keltische zurückgehen *muss*, will ich hier nicht eingehen, nur zum schluss die vermutung aussprechen dass die Percevalsage, worunter ich die verwendung märchenhafter motive verstehe, in ihrer literarischen form ein werk Chrestiens zu sein scheint. Denn die tatsache ist einmal nicht abzuleugnen, dass alle literarischen denkmäler, die bis jetzt bekannt sind, auf Chrestien zurückweisen, und keines mit sicherheit auf eine ältere quelle" (213).

1900. Suchier, Hermann, und Birch-Hirschfeld, Adolf. *Geschichte der französischen Litteratur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, Leipzig und Wien: "Der mittellenglische 'Perceval' ist nur ein verblasster Ausfluss aus Christian," etc. (147).

1902. Newell, William Wells. *The Legend of the Holy Grail and the Perceval of Crestien of Troyes*, Cambridge, Mass. (Newell quotes Golther's opinion with emphatic approval.) "This curious example of a popular rhymed novelette [SP] of the fourteenth century assuredly can boast no more remote antiquity. The love story may very well be explained as made up under the influence of suggestions indirectly obtained from the extant French poem, and the style and proper names correspond to such a supposition. A lingering remnant of the portion of Crestien's story relating to the unasked question may be found in the untimely reverie of the hero. That the knight of the cup should be represented as the slayer of Perceval's father is entirely in the manner of a reconstructor; that the vengeance is unintentional, and even unknown, shows that the feature is not ancient. A considerable number of verbal coincidences attest the connection with the French verse, which is further made clear by the proper name of the hero, Sir Perceval le Galayse. The incidents of the German, Welsh, and English versions of the story, where they vary from the tale of Crestien, also disagree with each other; such aberration, according to the remarks above offered, is a plain indication that the changes must be considered as due only to the fancy of the several recasters. Minor agreements between traits of the English poem and those, for example, mentioned by Wolfram, are to be disregarded, being in every case explicable as due to a common interpretation of the data of the French original. The assumption of an Anglo-Norman romance as the presumed source of the English verse (suggested by

G. Paris) ought not to be considered so long as the production can be explained as a variation founded on a *vera causa*, on the celebrated and easily accessible work of Crestien. The outlines of the latter composition might easily, in the fourteenth century, come into the knowledge of a popular poet" (82).

These opinions may be tabulated thus:

<i>SP derived from C</i>	<i>SP influenced by C</i>	<i>SP independent of C</i>
.....	.....	1842. San Marte (A. Schulz)
.....	.....	1842. De la Villemarqué (discredited)
1844. Halliwell	.....	.....
.....	.....	1871. Gervinus
.....	.....	1880. Martin (?)
.....	1881. Nutt (?)	1881. Nutt (?)
.....	.....	1883. Paris, G.
.....	1885. Steinbach	.....
.....	1888. Nutt	1888. Kaluza, Paris, G.
1890. Golther Zimmer (?)	.....	.....
.....	1891. Nutt	1891. Heinzel
.....	1895-6. Kölbing	.....
1899. Foerster (?)	.....	1898. Wechsler
1900. Suchier-Birch- Hirschfeld	.....	.....
1902. Newell	.....	.....
.....	.....	1906-9. Weston

No scholar, so far as I know, believes that Crestien invented the materials he used in his Perceval poem. But some students contend that it is impossible for us, through a study of such tales as we now have, to arrive at any definite knowledge concerning those materials as they were before Crestien used them, and that Crestien's poem and the idiosyncrasies of later writers are sufficient to account for all later versions; and they assert (implicitly, if not explicitly) that only documentary evidence of a date prior to Crestien's time can be held sufficient to prove any version's independence of the Frenchman's *Conte*. Other scholars hold that other versions of the tale bear within themselves evidence, if not proof, that they have inherited portions of the source materials through a tradition independent of Crestien.

Most of the tales (all from 1 through 14 mentioned above) that I intend to compare have been studied in connection with the Perceval tale before. I, unhappy that I am, have no manuscript



risen from the dead with which to convince unbelievers. It remained for me to see if a more minute observation of the facts and a new marshaling of the evidence could not be made to present that proof of one theory or another which has hitherto been wanting.

Since the matter has long been in dispute, it is evidently not easy to prove that all the versions are based on Crestien's; and since, on the contrary, no single version has been proved to be independent of Crestien's, it is difficult to see how the evidence of any one version can be of any value in an effort to prove the independence of any other. The method of investigation I have adopted is one that I learned in my college days in mathematics—the method of demonstrating the falsity of a hypothesis by assuming that it is true and then exposing the inadequacy or absurdity in which it ends. In this way the versions are made—and that without begging the question—to furnish evidence concerning themselves.

For this working hypothesis I have assumed that Crestien's poem is the source out of which the other Perceval romances were evolved. Upon this hypothesis, it is patent that departures from *C* are the evidence to be sought especially, not agreements with it. And departures are of no worth unless two or more tales agree in making the same departures. In this search I soon found that summaries could not be omitted, though at first I had hoped to avoid printing them and depend upon references to those of my predecessors.<sup>1</sup> In order to prepare these summaries I divided each tale into incidents. These, of course, are subdivisible into items and points, but the incident has been my unit. In presenting my study I have followed the sequence of incidents in *SP*. The incidents occur in groups, and my comparisons have proceeded according to these groups.

Five such groups, apparently, are presented in *SP*, and I have devoted a chapter to each one. At the beginning of each chapter I have summarized and compared *SP* and *C*, and stated whatever conclusions the comparison warranted; next I have brought in any other tales that have a bearing, summarizing, comparing them

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., Birch-Hirschfeld, *Die Sage vom Gral* (Leipzig, 1877); A. Nutt, *Stud.*; and Miss J. L. Weston, *Leg. of SP*.

with *SP* and *C*, and stating my conclusions. To make my meaning more readily intelligible, I have recapitulated by means of tables.

I have condensed this volume as much as possible. I am aware that as a consequence some of my paragraphs, because of the closeness of the argument and the number of abbreviations, items, and tables used, must offer some trouble to the reader; but I trust that this trouble and the arithmetical look of some of the pages will not annoy him overmuch. My plan necessitates the presentation of a world of minutiae, but I hope it will not fetch the reader to a point where he cannot see the forest for the trees (or the leaves either). Condensation, too, has deprived me of certain pleasures; I have avoided the Grail problem (since *SP* omits the Grail entirely); I have made no effort to reconstruct Kiot's version; I have not discussed the relation of *Pd* to *C*, etc., etc., giving room only here and there to a footnote.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Several books and articles have appeared since this study was made ready for the printer.

1910. Williams, Mary Rh. *Essai sur la composition du roman Gallois de Peredur* (Paris; pp. 121). This I have read, and some of its data I should have been glad to incorporate. Miss Williams argues for *Pd*'s entire independence of *C*, but the matter is as yet, it seems to me, far from being settled beyond dispute.

I have not yet had access to:

1908. MacNeill, Eoin. "Duanire Finn," *Irish Texts Society*, VII. Texts and translation of numerous metrical Lays of Fionn.

1908. Golther, W. *Parzival und der Gral*. Munich.

1909. Baist, G. *Parzival und der Gral*. Freiburg.

1909. Lot, F. *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, LXX.

## CHAPTER I

### THE HERO'S FOREST REARING

References are arranged in groups on the basis of similarity of treatment.

#### FIRST INCIDENT: THE FATHER'S MARRIAGE

*SP*, 1-100; *W*, II, 1-1284.<sup>1</sup>

Other versions, wanting.

#### SECOND INCIDENT: THE FATHER'S DEATH

I. *SP*, 101-60; *PC*, 485-940; *W*, II, 1285-1598.

II. *Pd*, 244; *Fool*, 160-61; *Card*, I, 1-VI, 4; *Een*, 349.

III. *C*, 1607-82; *Ty*, 1-56.

#### THIRD INCIDENT: THE MOTHER'S FLIGHT

I. *SP*, 161-92; *PC*, 941-1223; *W*, III, 24-59; *Pd*, 244-45; *Fool*, var. *b*.

II. *Card*, VI, 5-VIII, 3.

III. *Fool*, 161; *Een*, 350.

IV. *C*, 1607-82.

*Ty* lacks this incident, but cf. ll. 57-64.

#### FOURTH INCIDENT: THE HERO'S BOYISH EXPLOITS

I. *SP*, 193-228; *W*, III, 60-126; *Pd*, 245; *Card*, VIII, 4-XVI, 8; *Fool*, 161-62.

II. *Ty*, 65-88.

III. *PC*, 1124-82; *C*, 1283-1313.

The portion of the Perceval legend to be treated in this chapter is the forest life<sup>2</sup> of the hero—its causes, stages, and results. It appears in *SP* as four incidents: the father's marriage tournament, his death tournament, the widow's flight, and the hero's boyish exploits. These may be summarized as follows:

I. King Arthur gave his sister Ache flour in marriage to Percyvelle, the most honored knight at court. At the joust in honor of the bridal Percyvelle overthrew all the knights (including the Black Knight) who opposed him,

<sup>1</sup> In *W* there are two marriages, each with its accompanying tournament; the second one is discussed here, the first being reserved for discussion in chap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> After the Grail part, this has probably been the part of the legend most studied. It has furnished the bulk of the evidence in the strongest arguments hitherto offered to show that the tales had a common source outside of *C*. Nutt, Hertz, Schofield, Miss Weston, all have used it; Rajna, Golther, Newell, and others have stated their opinions on more or less of it. Hence I have to travel over a much-trodden field, though not, I hope, without adding somewhat to the gatherings of my predecessors.

breaking sixty shafts that day. One of the knights overthrown was the Red Knight, who in anger swore he would be revenged. II. Later, when Percyvelle's son was born, the father gave him his own name, Perceval. A second joust was declared; and again Percyvelle vanquished all comers—until the appearance of the Red Knight, at whose hands he was slain. III. The widow, hoping to preserve her son's life, fled with him to a wild wood, to rear him where he should never hear of tournaments and should have only beasts to play with. She took with her only a maiden, a troop of goats, and of her lord's possessions merely a Scotch spear [but cf. l. 410]. IV. When the lad grew old enough to play in the woods, she gave him the spear, and told him in reply to his query that it was a doughty dart she had found in the forest. Perceval slew birds and beasts, and brought them to his mother. He became so skilful that no beast could escape him. Thus they remained for fifteen years, the mother keeping her son as ignorant as possible.

Crestien was an accomplished writer, and instead of beginning his account with any such family history he chose to open his poem with an incident which would capture the attention of his romantic audience; so he commenced with that event<sup>1</sup> in the hero's life which was to initiate the series of his adventures, his chance meeting with a group of knights in the forest.<sup>2</sup> The only passage in *C* that treats of the hero's earlier life in the forest or of how he came to be living there is one of about seventy-five lines, placed in the mouth of the widow when Perceval returns home and tells her he has seen knights. And the authenticity of this passage has been disputed (see note on p. 25). It runs thus:

¶ Perceval could boast of both father and mother; for his father had been an excellent knight, and his mother was daughter to a knight, one of the best in the country. ¶ But all the knights had suffered hardship after Uther Pendragon's time; Perceval's father was wounded, lost his estates, and fell into poverty. ¶ For safety he fled into this forest (where he had a house), being borne hither on a litter when Perceval was scarcely two years old. Perceval had two older brothers, and when it happened that in one day they were both slain, the father died of grief. ¶ Since then the widow had lived on with only her son and their servants in this remote place (1607-82).

This is the only passage in *C* that gives any account of the father's marriage, or of his death, or of how the widow came to be

<sup>1</sup> There was, to be sure, a conventional prologue of the sermonette variety. It is quoted as some sixty lines from the Montpellier MS by Potvin, II, 307-8.

<sup>2</sup> Potvin's ll. 1283-1606; this is matter for chap. ii, *infra*.

living in the solitary forest. If *C* was the source, *SP* has introduced a great change.

The other versions are next to be examined to see whether they support *C* or *SP*. The incidents will be taken *seriatim*.

I. The tournament at the father's marriage appears in only one of the other versions, *W*. The German tale, however, doubles the incident, the father (Gahmuret) doing battle for each of his two wives. The first, which wins Belakane for him and which provides the subject-matter of Book I of *W*, offers little resemblance to this part of *SP*; but it is much like a later part, and is reserved for discussion in chapter IV, *infra*. The second battle, fought for Herzeloide, presents several similarities:

Herzeloide, queen of "Waleis," appointed a great tournament, the victor in which was to become her husband and king of her states. Gahmuret arrived before Kanvoleis (the capital city) and found the plain covered with the tents of many kings and valiant knights. He armed himself richly and entered the tourney. He overthrew many knights, among them four kings, and wherever he came he cleared a space about him; he became known and so much feared that when his opponents saw him coming they scattered, crying, "Flee! flee!" One opponent, Lahelein, became disgusted at such behavior and rode in anger against him, but only to be cast a spear's length out of the saddle. In his half-day's battle Gahmuret broke a hundred spear shafts. And none dared meet him. He and Herzeloide were married, and within the year a son—the hero—was born to them.

Shortly before this tournament Gahmuret's brother, Galoes, had been slain by Orilus, brother of Lahelein; cf. III, 559-62.

In both *SP* and *W* the father fights a marriage tournament, and proves victor over all comers. The wife is a queen or sister to a king. In both the father breaks many shafts. In both he overthrows a powerful knight who later becomes his son's enemy. In both he is brought into contact with still another knight (Black Night=Tent Lord in *SP*, and Orilus=Tent Lord in *W*) who is later to play an important part in the life of his son. In both he has a son born to him within a year from this tournament.

II. Of the second incident, the father's death, the circumstances are related at length in *SP*, *PC*, and *W*, and briefly in *Pd*, *Card*, and *Fool*.

*PC.*—The father, who was the only survivor of twelve brothers, heard that the King of Wales was to give a tournament, and, despite the entreaties of his wife and his folk, gathered his followers and went. At first he won great fame, but soon he was mortally wounded. News of his death and burial was brought to his wife by an abbot.

*W.*—The father learned soon after his marriage that his former friend the Baruch (Caliph) was beset with enemies. He went to his aid, and was absent half a year. Then he was slain treacherously, and buried in Bagdad. When the news was brought to Herzeloyde, she fainted and would have died but for the ministrations of an old man who was present.

To Trevrizent Parzival says his father lost his life through his love of jousting; cf. IX, 1256-59.

*Pd.*—Evrawc, Earl of the North, and father of seven sons, maintained himself principally by tournaments. "As it often befalls those who join in encounters and wars, he was slain, and six of his sons likewise."

*Card.*—At Arthur's court at Camelot lived a noble knight, whom several knights murdered because they were jealous of the favors shown him by the King.

*Fool.*—A "ridere," who was father of several children and a brother of the King of Eirenn, raised a revolt against the King, and he and all his sons were slain in battle. (He had a posthumous son.)<sup>1</sup>

*Boyish Exploits of Finn.*—Cumhail, Finn's father, was slain in battle.

*Een.*—Fionn's father, Cumhail, could be slain "only with his own sword, when he was spoilt with drink, and love-making." Black Arcan was instigated to slay him treacherously while he slept with the daughter of the King of Lochlann.

<sup>1</sup> THE HERO'S FATHER: *Name.*—No two versions use the same name. Four state the name at the outset: *SP*, Percyvelle; *PC*, Bliocadrans (570, etc.); *W*, Gahmuret; *Pd*, Evrawc. A fifth states it later in the tale: *Card*, Dondinello (XXVII). Three, *Ty*, *Fool*, and *C*, mention no name.

Gahmuret is successor to the kingdom of Anjou after the death of Galoes, his brother. With "Gahmuret" cf. "roi Ban de Gomeret" in *C*, 1661 ("disputed passage") and "Gomeret" in index of *Prose-Tristan*. Wolfram makes little attempt to connect Parzival himself with Anjou; the hero first speaks of Anjou as belonging to him in the battle with Feirefiz (XV, 361 ff.).

Gerbert gives the name "Gales li Caus" to the father of Perceval; "Gales li Chaus" occurs in *Erec*, 1726; *Bel Inconnu*, Hippeau's ed., 41, has "Gales li Cauf" (? = Caus).

*Time.*—*SP* and *Card* place the father in the time of King Arthur; *C* and *W*, in that of Uther Pendragon; *PC*, in that of a "king of Wales"; *Fool*, in that of a "king of Eirenn"; two versions are silent.

*Kin.*—(a) Brothers: *SP*, *W*, and *Fool* agree that the father had one brother; *PC* gives him eleven; others are silent. (*Perlesvaus* gives him a brother, Elinant of Escavalon, who in his turn has a son, Alein.) (b) Wife: *SP* and *W* describe his marriage at length; others are silent. In *W* the tournament celebrating the marriage occurred in "Waleis"; in *SP* it was probably understood to occur in Wales. (c) Sons: *SP*, *PC*, and *Ty* state positively that he had only one child; *Card* implies the same; *W* gives him an older son (Feirefiz) by his heathen wife Belakane, but only one by Herzeloyde; *Pd*, *Fool*, and *C* give him others besides the one son, though they are slain in combat while the hero is a babe. (d) No daughter is given to the

All these versions are agreed upon three large elements: (1) the father was a rich and vigorous knight of high rank, (2) who, at about the time of the birth of a son, (3) was slain because of his devotion to arms.

Still other agreements may be pointed out between the three versions that make much of the father's life. The following paragraph, quoted from the *Legend of Sir Perceval* (I, 72), gives Miss Weston's summary of the agreements between *PC* and *W*:

"In both versions the devotion of the father to warlike exercises is insisted upon. In both he is overcome with grief at the death in tourney of a brother or brothers, which death leaves him the sole surviving member of his family. In both he is summoned from home, shortly before the birth of his first child, to attend a tourney; in both is there slain, and buried away from home with great honours. In both versions an old man plays an important rôle at the moment of breaking the news to the widow; in fact, the version of the *Parzival* where the presence of mind of this personage saves the life of the Queen, whom her maidens would have allowed to die in her swoon, requires the explanation of the '*Bliocadran*' [= *PC*], where he has been sent for to break the tidings, otherwise what is he doing in the Queen's private apartments?"

*SP* agrees with *PC* upon a number of points. The father had not long been married. He had only one child. At the time of the birth of this son he took part in a tournament, in which he was slain, after he had fought valiantly. And his burial is mentioned.

father in these versions, but in several a foster-sister to Perceval is mentioned. (e) The hero's birth: at the time of the father's death the hero was in *SP*, *PC*, and *Ty* only a few days old; in *W* to be born later, two weeks after the mother hears of the father's death; in *Fool* yet to be born; in *Card* nine months old; in *C*, disputed passage (1607-1682), over (how much is uncertain) two years old; in *Pd* "too young to go to wars." (In *Perlesvaus* and *Didot-P* the father did not die until after Perceval had left home.)

The *Prose-Tristan* knew *C*, but drew upon another source for Perceval's family history. Pelinor, the father, slew King Loth, the father of Gauvain. In revenge Gauvain and his brothers slew Pelinor. The names and number of Pelinor's sons vary. § 250 (p. 169) gives four—Tor, Agloval, Doryan, and Lamorat; § 150 (p. 114) gives Driant (for Doryan), the common form; § 217 (p. 156) speaks of "Alain, the brother of Driant"; § 215 (p. 155) has "Tor, son of Ares, son of Pellynor." Gauvain, Mordret, and Agravain, passing through a forest, encounter and slay Driant and Lamorat—two of Pelinor's four (or more) sons, pp. 237-38. Gaehriet tells Gauvain (his brother) that Perceval looks well able to avenge the deaths of Pelinor, Lamorat, and Driant.

*Morien* appears to spring from a version akin to both the *Prose-Tristan* account and the disputed passage in *C*. (Cf. Miss Weston's translation of *Morien*, pp. 116 ff.)

The similarity between the *Prose-Tristan* and the *Card* accounts is evident.

The points upon which *SP* agrees with *W* are more numerous and more significant. The father fights in two tournaments, which are described. His wife is a queen or a king's sister. He has by this marriage a single child. He has one brother. In this tournament he makes an enemy who is later to do battle against his son. His burial is mentioned.

Four versions—*SP*, *W*, *Card*, and *Fool*—present a revenge motive; and the first three show a cycle of interesting events that look like reminiscences of older and more closely related forms.

Observe the parts played by the Red Knight and the Tent Lord: (a) In *SP* the father overthrows the Red Knight and the Black Knight (Tent Lord) at the marriage tournament; afterward the Red Knight slays the father; later the hero slays the Red Knight and overthrows the Black Knight. (b) In *W* the father overthrows Lahelein at the marriage tournament; later Lahelein conquers two kingdoms which the hero should have inherited; Lahelein's brother is Orilus, the Tent Lord; Orilus has slain Galoes, the father's brother; the hero overthrows Orilus. Near the time of the marriage tournament the father met Ither (the Red Knight) at Seville (IX, 1963 ff.), but as a friend. (See a comment in the Conclusion, p. 126, *infra*.)

Note the place, too, of Gawain: (a) In *Card* the father is slain by Mordarette (Mordret, the brother of Gawain) and his brothers; the hero, after he has rescued the Bespelled Lady, wishes to revenge his father's death, but King Arthur makes peace between him and his enemy, Gawain.<sup>1</sup> (b) In *SP* while the hero is in the midst of rescuing the Besieged Lady, and in *W* after he has rescued her, he meets Gawain and does battle with him (neither friend recognizing the other), though little comes of it; in *SP* the battle is fought in the presence of King Arthur; in *W* Arthur is not far away, and the friends go from the battle to his tent.

Revenge is prominently mentioned—in *SP* by King Arthur (561-68), in *W* (III, 359-66) by the mother, in *Card* in several places.

Everywhere there is a tendency to bring the hero into relationship with the king. In *Fool* the father was brother to the King

<sup>1</sup> *Card* is, of course, not alone in making the hero (equating Carduino with Perceval) and Gawain enemies; cf. *supra*, p. 18, note, and Malory's account.



of Eirinn. But when the king was thought of as King Arthur, some other arrangement had to be made, for tradition provided him with no available brother. *W* presents the father as brother to the King of Anjou and sixth cousin to King Arthur. *SP* says the mother was sister to King Arthur. The Grail group (*C*, *W*, "continuators") and *Pd* make the mother the daughter or the sister of the Grail King or his equivalent.<sup>1</sup>

To recapitulate for incident II: six versions, though they vary much, yet show such significant agreements as to render it nearly indubitable that they had a common ancestor; cf. the high standing of the father, his death in joust or by the treachery of a knight, the survival of one son, the mother's behavior at the father's death, the presence of future actors in the tale at or near the time of the father's death, and the feud inherited by the son.

III. The third incident, the flight of the widow, is one of the most widely current of all the incidents in the Perceval tale. Instead of summarizing<sup>1</sup> each version, we may state the main points upon which they agree.

Five versions—*SP*, *PC*, *W*, *Pd*, and *Card*—relate how: [after (1) a rich and vigorous knight of high rank, (2) at about the time

<sup>1</sup> The following details concerning the widow and her flight may be noted:

**THE HERO'S MOTHER: Name.**—Only two of the seven versions give the name: *SP*, Acheffour; *W*, Herzeloide. Rhys says: "Now *Herzeloyde* is clearly nothing but the Welsh word *arglwydes*, 'lady, domina,' applied to her in the Welsh original, drawn upon by some one of Wolfram's French predecessors in the treatment of the story."—*Arch. Leg.*, p. 123. Golther (*op. cit.*, 206, note) considers "Acheffour" a garbling of *C*'s "Blanchefleur."

**Rank.**—In *SP* the mother is sister to King Arthur; in *W*, queen of two kingdoms, Wales and Norgales; in *Pd*, a countess; in *Card* the hero once said that the mother was "of the common people," but he was probably misled into that statement; in *PC* and *Fool* she is spoken of vaguely; in *C*—disputed passage—she is daughter of "one of the best knights of the country" (but see next paragraph).

**Kin.**—*Ty*, *Card*, and *Fool* are silent; *PC* is vague; in three versions she is sister to a king—in *SP* to King Arthur and in *C* and *W* to the Grail King (and to the Hermit also); in *Pd* she is sister to a nobleman who is the equivalent of the Grail King. In two versions the mother has a sister: in *SP* the mother of Gawain; in *W* the mother of Sigune. In the legend of the Grail the mother's relationship is important, and in some tales is considerably expanded.

**THE FLIGHT:** Two variants could easily arise: the story-teller could have the mother flee in haste and go from plenty to poverty; or, remembering her station, he could have her plan leisurely and go with retinue and rich stores.

**Provisions.**—(a) In *SP* (but cf. 409-10) and *Pd* she took a flock of goats. (b) In *PC* she took silver and gold, over one hundred cars and chariots, much wheat and oats, beeves and cows, horses and sheep; in *Card*, precious stones, pearls, and rich provisions. (c) *W* is silent; in *Fool* the mother arranges to provide for the foster-mother and the boys; in *Fool*,

of the birth of a son, (3) had been slain through his devotion to arms] (4) his widow (the hero's mother) feared she might lose her only (living) son (5) if he should learn of arms and knightly deeds, (6) and so she determined to rear the lad in ignorance; (7) to accomplish this design, she fled (8) to a forest far from civilization, (9) accompanied (a) by her son alone or (b) by her son and a small number of household attendants. A sixth version, *Fool* (*Een* agreeing), is a variant of the story underlying the five versions: the widow, instead of going herself, sent her kitchen wench with the babe to a forest, where she supported them; mother and son seem never to have met again: but in *Fool*, var. *b*, the widow goes with her son alone to the forest.<sup>1</sup> The same story, then, appears in six versions.

These agreements are too numerous and too detailed to have been the result of accident.

var. *b*, she goes herself in poverty; *C* is non-committal, but the father had previously fallen into "great poverty" (disputed passage).

*Dwelling-place*.—In *SP*, a "wood"—indefinite, the home beside a "well" (ll. 6-7); *Card*, in a forest, the most hidden place, a glen; *Pd*, a desert and unfrequented wilderness; (*Ty*, a forest, ten leagues from any mansion); *W*, a waste in Soltane (cf. *C*, 1289, "gaste forest sou-taine"); *Fool*, a forest within walking distance of a town; *PC*, the mother says she is going to visit the shrine of Saint Brandain d'Escoce (1035, 1071), passes by a castle on the "mer de Gale," and goes twelve days' journey into a wood to the "gaste forest"; *C*, a "manoir" belonging to the father, in this "foriest gaste," skirting Valdane (1507-10) and less than four days' journey from Carduel (1547-51). In *SP*, *W*, and *Pd*, no house is mentioned; in *Card* the mother built a cabin of boughs; in *Fool* there is a "bothy"; in *PC* nine men spend fifteen days building a house; in *C* there is a dwelling that had been built in former days.

*Attendants*.—In *Card* and *Fool*, var. *b* (and *Ty*), the mother is alone with her son in the forest; in *SP* she has a maiden only; in *Fool* the kitchen wench has her son with her (but cf. var. *b*); in *W*, laborers to support them, and Sigune (?); in *PC*, the mother's major-domo and his eight sons and four daughters (on the number twelve in *PC*, cf. Miss Weston, *Leg. of SP*, I, 66 ff.); in *C* (disputed passage) the father and mother are accompanied by two older sons, servants to carry the father's litter, plowmen, etc., and perhaps Perceval's germaine cosine.

<sup>1</sup> *The Amadan Mor and the Gruagach of the Castle of Gold*.—The widow fled to the forest, and her son, the Fool, was born there. (The earlier incidents are not so greatly like the prose introduction to Campbell's *Fool*, but the enchantment part of this tale is much the same as Campbell's verse.)

Toward the end, the Gruagach assures the Fool: "I am your own brother born and bred"; and then the two go to attack four giants. End.—J. Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland*, 140-62.

*Boyish Exploits of Finn*.—Cumhail's wife gave birth to Finn, whom two heroines (for nurses) took away to rear in a forest. (The remaining exploits, with one exception, are not of service to us.)—"The Boyish Exploits of Finn MacCumhail" in *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, Dublin, 1859.

*Een*.—Cumhail's widow bore twins, a daughter and a son. On the night they were born, the muime (nurse) of the son fled with him to a desert place, where she reared him till he was a stalwart, goodly child. (The remaining adventures are of no service to us.)

IV. The fourth incident is the account of the hero's boyish exploits. Before leaving his forest home, the youth demonstrates his strength and agility in several ways. Four versions—*SP*, *W*, *Pd*, and *Card*—stand fairly close together; *Fool* agrees as far as it goes; and *Ty* leans in their direction. *PC* and *C* are pretty far removed.

*SP*.—The mother gave her son a spear<sup>1</sup> that had belonged to his father, telling him she had found it. With it he shot birds, harts, and hinds, and brought them to his mother. No beast might escape him.

*W*.—Parzival made a bow and arrows for himself, and shot at birds with them. Distressed when one fell slain, he questioned his mother about it, and she taught him of God. He returned to the woods to hunt, and became so skilled at throwing a dart (*gabyldt*, source unexplained) that no beast could escape him. Many a hart, heavy enough for a mule's burden, he shouldered home.

*Pd*.—No one brought horses or arms near Peredur, lest he should desire them. He diverted himself, throwing sticks and stones in the forest. One day he saw two hinds standing near his mother's flock of goats.<sup>2</sup> By his swiftness he drove them into the goat house, and called his mother and her attendants to see. They marveled at his prowess.

*Card*.—Carduino, wandering in the forest one day, found two hunting spears that hunters had left. To his questions the mother replied they were darts that God had sent him; and she taught him their use. After that he hunted, and no beast was able to escape him. He and his mother ate the flesh and used the skins for clothing.

*Fool*.—The Fool, walking in the woods with his foster-brother one day, saw some deer, and was told that they were creatures upon which were food and clothing. By running, he overtook three, and brought them to his foster-mother. Shortly afterward he outran a horse.

*Boyish Exploits of Finn*.—Finn and the two heroines (his nurses) walking in Sleeve Bloom one day saw a herd of wild deer. The heroines said they wished they could detain them. Finn ran, caught two bucks, and brought them to the hunting booth (hut). After that he hunted constantly (p. 297).

*Ty*.—While Tyolet was very young, a fairy<sup>3</sup> gave him magic power in whistling, by which he was able to overtake and slay any beast whatsoever.

Certain other items that occur as parts of incidents later in the tales may be grouped here. The hero outran a tame horse in *SP* (713 ff.) and *Card* (XVIII); and a wild horse in *SP* (325 ff.) and

<sup>1</sup> This spear is (by a misreading of "schorte"? cf. l. 478) called a "Scottes" spear; cf. Scotch connections in chap. iv, *infra*, pp. 90 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *SP* and *Pd* agree in saying the mother was provided with a flock of goats. Cf. Cuchulain's feat, and Rhys, *Arth. Leg.*, 75 ff.

<sup>3</sup> With the introduction of the fay into *Ty* cf. *W*, I, 1655-70; II, 1134-36.

*Fool* (162). He outran deer in *Fool* (161) and *Pd* (245). He showed his strength by carrying home heavy animals in *SP* and *W*, by lifting an armed man out of the saddle and carrying him in *W* (V, 1244 ff.), by lifting a woman on the point of his spear and carrying her in *SP* (859-60), and by carrying his mother on his shoulder a long distance in *SP* (2235).<sup>1</sup>

In all versions the hero is simple and ignorant,<sup>2</sup> but quick to learn. In *SP* his mother would teach him "neither nurture nor lore"; in *Pd* he did not know the difference between goats and hinds; in *Card*, having never seen a man, he thought there were no other things but the beasts about him; in *PC* the mother told him that he had no home but this, and "since he had very little sense," he believed her;<sup>3</sup> in *Fool*, cf. the title; in *C* and *W* no statement is made here, but he is called "foolish" *passim*; in *Ty*, no statement.<sup>4</sup>

*C* nowhere makes place for a direct treatment of the Boyish Exploits. Consequently, as against the comparative fulness of detail in the other versions, *C* shows meagerness. The few items that the French poem does give are generally not stated in direct narrative, but appear incidentally in conversation or are wrought, indirectly and subordinately, into the presentation of other details. The hero had a horse and he knew how to ride from<sup>5</sup> the beginning (1291-92, 1306, etc.); he had three javelins (1293, etc.—source unexplained); and he slew<sup>6</sup> birds and beasts (1416-17), and does

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Gerbert (*The Library*, 88); and *W*, III, 1254-56.

<sup>2</sup> Folk-tales are fond of the apparently simple but really wise young hero; examples need not be multiplied. Campbell (*Tales*, III, 96-97) mentions "Smoroie Mor, or as others have it, Sir Morioe Mor, 'a son of King Arthur,' of whom great and strange things are told in Irish tradition. . . . He was called to his by-name, The fool of the Forest." . . . He refers here also to *Fool* and to *Conal* (not *Conall Gulban*).

<sup>3</sup> In *PC* the mother says they are the only people in the world, but the presence of the major-domo and his twelve children (and their servants?) is known, and might reasonably be expected to raise a question in Perceval's mind. Cf. Miss Weston's argument that here the author of *PC* is unskillfully using older material (in which mother and son were really alone), *Leg. of SP.*, I, 86 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *C*, *W*, and *Ty* tend to minimize the foolishness of the hero.

<sup>5</sup> *PC* agrees; in all other versions he thought of riding only after he had learned of knight-hood. Cf. p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> The ability to provide food for his mother is certainly insinuated in *C* but it is plainly asserted in *SP*, *W*, *Card*, *Ty*, and *Fool*; and one might have expected, a priori, that *W*, which like *C* and *PC* makes much of the household servants, the plowing, etc., would have omitted this point, just as *PC* does.

and stags (1486-88). Other references to his agility and strength are wanting. *PC* presents nothing here that could not easily have been drawn from *C*.

The main points of evidence for the four incidents may be arranged in a table:

1. The father is named early (but in no two tales alike) . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>PC</i>	<i>Pd</i>	....	....	..
2. He lived in the time of King Arthur . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	..	..	..	<i>Card</i>	....	..
or of Uther Pendragon . . . . .	..	<i>W</i>	..	..	..	....	<i>C</i>
3. He was a favored knight at court . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	..	..	..	<i>Card</i>	....	..
4. He had only one brother . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	..	..	..	<i>Fool</i>	..
(a) who was a king . . . . .	..	<i>W</i>	..	..	..	<i>Fool</i>	..
or he was one of several brothers . . . . .	..	..	<i>PC</i>	..	..	....	..
5. He was overcome by grief at the death of his brother(s) in tourney . . . . .	..	<i>W</i>	<i>PC</i>	..	..	....	..
6. He was sole survivor of his family . . . . .	..	<i>W</i>	<i>PC</i>	..	..	....	..
7. He was vigorous, and devoted to warlike exercises . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>PC</i>	<i>Pd</i>	....	<i>Fool</i>	..
8. He left home to go to tourneys . . . . .	..	<i>W</i>	<i>PC</i>	<i>Pd</i>	....	....	..
9. He fought in two tourneys, which are described . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	..	..	....	....	..
I							
10. He fought a marriage tournament, overthrowing all comers . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	..	..	....	....	..
11. A vanquished knight became his son's enemy . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	..	..	....	....	..
12. Another knight (Tent Lord) played a part in his life and later in his son's life . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	..	..	....	....	..
13. His wife was a royal lady . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	..	..	....	....	..
II							
14. Within a year a son was born to him . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	..	..	....	....	..
15. Who was his wife's only son . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>PC</i>	..	<i>Card</i>	....	..
16. And his only son . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	..	<i>PC</i>	..	<i>Card</i>	....	..
or he had more than one son . . . . .	..	<i>W</i>	..	<i>Pd</i>	....	<i>Fool</i>	<i>C</i>
17. At time of son's birth father entered tourney(s) . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>PC</i>	..	....	( <i>Fool</i> )	..
18. He was slain in tournament . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	..	<i>PC</i>	<i>Pd</i>	....	....	..
or treacherously . . . . .	..	<i>W</i>	..	..	<i>Card</i>	....	..
or in battle . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	<i>Fool</i>	..
19. He was slain at time of son's birth . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	..	<i>PC</i>	..	( <i>Card?</i> )	....	..
or before the son was born . . . . .	..	<i>W</i>	..	..	..	<i>Fool</i>	..
20. He was slain away from home . . . . .	..	<i>W</i>	<i>PC</i>	<i>Pd</i>	....	( <i>Fool?</i> )	..
21. His burial is mentioned . . . . .	<i>SP</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>PC</i>	..	....	....	..
22. An old man assists the widow . . . . .	..	<i>W</i>	<i>PC</i>	..	....	....	..

23. A revenge motif is brought into the tale.....	SP	W	..	..	Card	(Fool?)	..
24. But the revenge is absorbed into another incident and slurred over.....	SP	W	..	..	Card	(Fool)	..
III							
25. The widow fears her son will be slain.....	SP	W	PC	Pd	Card	Fool	(C)
26. To prevent his death he must be reared in a forest far from men.	SP	W	PC	Pd	Card	Fool	(C)
27. Where he may never hear of knightly life.....	SP	W	PC	Pd	Card	....	C
28. So she determines to flee with him	SP	W	PC	Pd	Card	{ Fool var.b	..
or to send him with a servant.....	..	..	..	..	....		..
29. She flees with few or no servants...	SP	..	..	..	Card	(Fool)	..
or with rich stores of provisions....	..	W	PC	..	(Card)	....	..
IV							
30. The son becomes vigorous, and shows:							
(a) Expertness, by slaying birds, deer, etc.....	SP	W	..	..	Card	....	C
(b) Agility, by outrunning deer....	..	..	..	Pd	....	Fool	..
wild horses.....	SP	..	..	..	....	Fool	..
tame horses.....	SP	..	..	..	Card	....	..
(c) Strength, by carrying carcasses	SP	W	..	..	(Card)	Fool	..
human beings.....	SP	W	..	..	....	....	..

From the evidence presented the argument may be stated succinctly as follows:

The marriage tournament occurs only in *SP* and *W*. *C*, then, cannot be the source of it. *SP* and *W* are not so much alike as to appear to have an immediate common source, but they have certain significant common possessions that lead us to suspect that they had somewhere more remotely an ancestor in common.

For the next two incidents—the father's death and the widow's flight—the six versions, *SP*, *W*, *PC*, *Pd*, *Card*, and *Fool*, show so many strains in common that they must revert to a common ancestor. But *C* is so considerably different that it cannot have been that ancestor: i.e., the passage summarized (*C*, 1607–82) cannot have been. The passage stands so much alone in the tradition that its authenticity has been disputed.<sup>1</sup> If the lines are

<sup>1</sup>It may be designated the "disputed passage." Though it bears some resemblance to the *Prose-Tristan* account (see p. 18, note), and perhaps is all the more to be suspected therefore, it differs so far from all other accounts of the father and of the mother's flight that one stu-

not by Crestien, they do not weaken any part of my argument. If they are by Crestien, they greatly strengthen it. If we omit the disputed passage from consideration for a moment, the remainder of *C* yields to a close scrutiny the following hints to serve as a basis for an account—and most of these are presented in conversation or as mere accessories to other details: (a) the mother was a widow (1288), (b) and she dwelt in a waste, solitary forest (1289 ff.); (c) among her attendants were farm laborers (1512 ff.), (d) and perhaps Perceval's foster cousin (*W*'s Sigune) (4774-75); (e) the mother wished to hide her son from people (1532 ff.); (f) and she wished to hide from him any knowledge of knighthood (1532, 1602 ff.). How far an account may incorporate these hints and yet be unlike the other versions is shown by the disputed passage.

dent at least who held that *C* was the source of all the other versions was forced into looking upon it as an interpolation by an unskilled hand. W. W. Newell, in his rendering of a portion of *C*, wrote: "Here omitted [is] a passage (lines 1609-1689, *sic*), in which Perceval's mother is made to give a statement in regard to the history of her slain husband. . . . The passage, intended to emphasize the woes of the widow, seems to be characterized by affectation, and obviously to be the work of a later hand. Wolfram and other successors of Crestien seem to have used a text in which the lady was represented as being a widow at the time of her flight."—*King Arthur and the Table Round* (Boston, 1897), II, 252.

There are other indications that the passage is an interpolation: (a) statements concerning the mother's kin here contradict statements in the rest of *C*; (b) Perceval's inattention here (following his mother's remarks) is a mere parallel to that toward King Arthur (2160-65); (c) the style is like that of an interpolator—prolix, etc.; (d) the account of the father's wounds looks like a contamination from the story of the lame Fisher King:

Vostre pères, si nel savés,  
Fu parmi les gambes navrés  
Si qu'il en méhagna del cors;  
  
Vostre pères ce manoir ot  
Ici en ceste foriest gaste;  
Ne pot fuir, mais en grant haste  
En litière apoter s'en fist,  
Car allora ne sot ù fuist.

The mother is speaking to her son (1629-31;  
1644-48).

Mais il fu en une bataille  
Navrés et méhagnés sans falle,  
Si que puis aidier ne se pot;  
Qu'il fu navrés d'un gaverlot  
Parmi les hances ambeadeus,  
S'en est encor si angolseus  
Qu'il ne puet sor ceval monter;  
Mais, quant il se viut déporter  
U d'aucun déduit entremetre,  
Si se fet en une nef metre,  
Si va pescier al amengon; . . .

Perceval's giermaine cosine is speaking  
to him just after his first visit to the  
Grail castle (4687-97).

If the disputed passage was written by Crestien, it must have been known to Wolfram and to the author of *PC*; yet it was (if known) cast aside and deliberately contradicted by these two writers; and it was accepted by none of the other of Crestien's successors except perhaps the Icelandic redactor. As the case stands, the text of *C* has not been established; but so far as I am able to learn, this passage is not wanting in any MS that preserves the contiguous lines. Miss Weston in her study of the MSS (*Leg. of SP*) mentions no instance; Potvin prints it from the Mons MS; and indicates its presence (cf. his notes) in 12577 and Mpl., and its prose equivalent in the Print of 1530.

\*"Var.: Les hanches" (Potvin's note).

It is evident, then, that the scholars who hold the theory that it is useless to seek for any source behind Crestien's poem must argue, as a corollary, that *PC*—an anonymous writer's relatively obscure preface (cf. p. 2, *supra*)—was the source for an incident (the widow's flight) as widely known as any incident in the popular poem (*C*) to which it (*PC*) was prefixed.

But the difficulty of considering any one of the six versions as the immediate source of the others is evident. Literary history and the brevity of their accounts put *Pd*, *Card*, and *Fool* out of court. The late date of the composition (or translation) of *SP* and the general facts of literary history discredit the theory that the English poem can have been the source of the French and German poems. Literary history makes it difficult, too, to see how *W* could have been the source of an English and a French poem.<sup>1</sup> And there are at least five reasons for believing that *PC* is not the source: (a) it does not furnish enough of the materials possessed in common; (b) *SP* agrees with *W* in a larger number of points than with *PC*; (c) it is highly probable that *W* was written first;<sup>2</sup> (d) it is highly improbable that Wolfram is responsible for the introduction of the Angevin history; (e) Wolfram suggests the source of his tale, a poem written by "Kiot."<sup>3</sup>

The evidence of this chapter is strong. And while it may not be considered strong enough to amount to proof of, it certainly

<sup>1</sup> Or of two French poems if (with Gaston Paris) we consider *SP* a translation from the French.

<sup>2</sup> Several things point to a comparatively late date for the composition of *PC*: had it been written early it would have been incorporated into more of the MSS; apparently it was unknown to the continuators (1190-1225 A.D.), Wauchier contradicting it in his account of the father's brothers, and Manessier and Gerbert in their accounts of the father's children.

Miss Weston offers the suggestion that the immediate source of *PC* was the "book" Crestien speaks of as his own source. Of the two MSS in which *PC* occurs, one is preserved at Mons; and the other (Brit. Mus.) contains a drawing of the arms of the house of Flanders; both MSS, then, being connected with the Netherlands, "may have come in contact with the book, or what remained of the book, owned by Count Philip, and . . . a later copyist, aware that a connection of some sort existed between the poems, supplemented what was considered as a defect in Chrétien's work from the earlier version."—*Leg. of SP*, 97, and 57-58.

<sup>3</sup> Wolfram's vigorous assertions concerning Crestien and Kiot cannot be explained away by the "mere formula" hypothesis; and the gratuitous assumption of some modern scholars that Wolfram simply lied is to me repugnant. The account of the father is one of the places



goes far in the direction of establishing, these conclusions: that the different versions had for the parts we have been studying a common source; that *C*, with or without the disputed passage (1607-82), cannot have been the source; and that *C* and *PC* together, with chance thrown in, do not satisfactorily account for the agreements we have found.

Whether we may believe that there ever was any single written version that was the source of all the others, or whether we must revert to a body of oral tradition, does not yet appear.

in which Wolfram diverges most widely from Crestien (Wolfram writes 3,300 lines before he reaches the birth of the hero; cf. Books I-II, against *C*, 1607-82); and, consequently, it may properly be considered one of his main justifications for the assertion (XVI, 1201-11) that Crestien did not tell the tale correctly. For other assertions, cf. VIII, 560-70, 992; IX, 605-82; XV, 1270; XVI, 550. For other points of divergence cf. Nutt, *Stud.*, 25, 261-63; Hertz, *Parnival*, 418, 505-6. I was glad to find that the opinion I reached independently, that the account of the father is one of Wolfram's chief objections to *C*, is also the opinion of such investigators as Miss Weston (*Leg. of SP*, I, 73) and Hertz.

## CHAPTER II

### THE HERO'S AWKWARD ATTEMPTS TO FOLLOW INSTRUCTIONS

#### FIFTH INCIDENT: THE MOTHER'S RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

- I. *SP*, 229-56; *Card*, IX, 5-X, 8.
- II. *W*, III, 98-116; *PC*, 1230-54.  
Other versions, wanting (but cf. implications).

#### SIXTH INCIDENT: THE HERO'S MEETING WITH KNIGHTS IN THE FOREST

- A. *The Meeting* (no groups)  
*SP*, 257-76; *C*, 1283-1348; *W*, III, 127-42; *Pd*, 245; *Ty*, 85-119;  
*Card*, XVII.  
*Fool*, wanting.
- B. *The Error* (no groups)  
*SP*, 277-304; *W*, III, 143-208; *C*, 1349-93; *Pd*, 245.  
*Ty*, *Card*, *Fool*, wanting.
- C. *News of Knighthood*
  - I. *SP*, 305-20.
  - II. *C*, 1394-1554; *W*, III, 209-92; *Pd*, 245-46.
  - III. *Ty*, 120-246.
  - IV. *Fool*, 162.  
*Card*, wanting.
- D. *The Return Home*
  - I. (a) *SP*, 321-88; (b) *Ty*, 247-68; *Card*, XVIII-XXI.
  - II. (a) *C*, 1555-1703; *W*, III, 293-328; (b) *Pd*, 246.  
(Cf. *Fool*, 162).

#### SEVENTH INCIDENT: THE MOTHER'S ADVICE

- I. *SP*, 389-416; *Card*, XXVII-XXIX; *Ty*, 269-74.
- II. *W*, III, 339-68.
- III. *C*, 1704-92; *Pd*, 246-47.

#### EIGHTH INCIDENT: THE ADVENTURE AT THE TENT

- A. *Departure from Home*
  - I. *SP*, 417-32; *Ty*, 275-80; *Card* (lacuna).
  - II. *Pd*, 247.
  - III. *C*, 1793-1828; *W*, III, 369-401.
  - IV. *Fool*, 162.

B. *The Visit to the Tent*I. *SP*, 433-80.II. *W*, III, 402-501; *C*, 1829-1972; *Pd*, 247.*Ty*, *Card*, wanting (but cf. final chapter, *infra*, pp. 119).C. *The Return of the Tent Lord**SP*, wanting.*C*, 1973-2025; *W*, III, 502-658; *Pd*, 247-48.

The English poem next presents four incidents which constitute a clearly bounded group, of which the purpose is to demonstrate—by showing the hero's awkwardness in following directions—that trait of foolishness which is made prominent<sup>1</sup> in his early life. The incidents themselves are among the most interesting in the whole tale, and parallels in other versions are numerous; yet, notwithstanding, the grounds upon which to build conclusions concerning the relationship of the versions are scanty. The vagueness results from the fact that one of the chief events, the Tent incident, is part of a story (or parts of two stories melted together) to be discussed later, and its significance does not become clear until the rest of the stories are before the reader. Consequently the substance of this chapter will be compressed as much as possible.

In *SP* the group is composed of two symmetrically developed portions. In each portion the mother gives her son directions, he faces a situation in which he attempts to follow them, and a blunder is the result, but through the blunder his fortunes are advanced.

The account is as follows:

V. When Perceval had been fifteen years in the forest, his mother gave him Instruction concerning God, to Whom she bade him pray; and he went into the forest to seek God. VI. There he met three knights, and, never having seen such, he thought them the God he sought; he began to adore them, but they told him they were only knights. Perceval returned to his mother and, to her great distress, told her of the adventure and of his newly formed purpose to go and become a knight. VII. She gave him Advice as to how he should conduct himself. VIII. He left home to go to King Arthur's court; on the way he came to a hall, entered, helped himself to food and wine he

<sup>1</sup> See p. 23, *supra*.

found on the table, went into another room where he found a lady asleep, and took her ring, leaving his own in its place; thence he departed to seek the King.

The following table (parts of which will be expanded later) shows the main items:

V								
The mother gives her son In-	SP	W	Card	...	...	..	..	..
struction concerning God..	..	W	...	...	...	..	..	PC*
the devil.....								
VI								
A. The hero meets knights in the								
forest:								
three <sup>a</sup> .....	SP	W	...	...	...	..	Pd	..
a fourth later.....	..	W	...	...	...	..	..	..
five.....	..	..	...	...	...	C	..	..
many.....	..	..	Card	...	...	..	..	..
the Stag-Knight <sup>b</sup> .....	..	..	...	Ty	...	..	..	..
a horse (metonymy for								
knight) <sup>c</sup> .....	..	..	...	...	Fool	..	..	..
B. By error he thinks they are:								
the devil.....	..	W	...	...	...	C	..	..
angels.....	..	..	...	...	...	C	Pd	..
God.....	SP	W	...	...	...	C	..	..
C. From or by them he learns of								
knighthood.....	SP	W	Card	Ty	Fool	C	Pd	..
D. He returns and tells his mother								
of the meeting.....	SP	W	Card	Ty	...	C	Pd	..
VII								
The mother gives her son Advice								
not contaminated from								
Instruction.....	SP	W	Card	Ty	...	..	..	..
contaminated from In-								
struction.....	..	..	...	...	...	C	Pd	..
VIII								
A. Mother and son are separated	SP	W	(Card)	(Ty)	...	C	Pd	..
Mother dies.....	..	W	...	...	...	C	Pd	..
or lives on.....	SP	..	Card	Ty	(Fool)	..	..	..
B. The hero finds a Tent (or								
hall) <sup>d</sup> .....	SP	W	...	...	...	C	Pd	..
By error he thinks it a monas-								
tery.....	..	..	...	...	...	C	Pd	..
He encounters the Tent Lady	SP	W	...	...	...	C	Pd	..
He departs for court.....	SP	W	Card	Ty	...	C	Pd	..

\* PC ceases before the meeting with the knights.

<sup>a</sup> Miss Weston (*Leg. of SP*, I, 86) suggests the Instruction may have concerned the Trinity.

<sup>b</sup> Summaries given below.

<sup>c</sup> I shall use "Tent" for the place where Perceval met the Lady, though chap. v will lead us to believe that SP's hall (palace) is the older form.

Of the two symmetrical portions, the first centers about the meeting between Perceval and the knights in the forest; it begins with the mother's religious Instruction, and ends with her grief when her son tells her he has seen knights. The second centers about Perceval's behavior in the hall; it begins with the mother's Advice, and ends with the hero's departure from the hall. Four versions tell all (or nearly all) of the two stories, falling into two sets: (a) *SP* and *W*, (b) *C* and *Pd*. Four other versions tell portions of the story: *PC*, *Ty*, *Card*, and *Fool*.

Several comments may be passed on the first portion. It will be observed that in *C* (*Pd* concurring<sup>1</sup>) the religious Instruction is not developed into an incident and placed previous to the hero's meeting with the knights in the forest, as it is in *SP*, *W*, and (to an extent) *Card*. The substance of this teaching, nevertheless, appears in *C*, for by Crestien's literary cleverness Perceval's remarks are made to show that his mother has instructed him concerning devils (1326 ff.), angels (1350 ff.), and God (1357 ff.); and when mother and son meet, after he has seen the knights, she speaks of "angels, . . . who slay all they meet" (1592-94), and of God "Who made heaven and earth, and placed men and women there" (1768-70). We may decide either that Crestien refined upon what was the source of the other versions, or that his poem is their source. But the presumption that *C* is the source of the other versions involves the supposition that Crestien's followers found his version too delicately literary, and that three of them (or four, if *PC*'s partial account be considered) extracted his hints and developed them into an explanatory incident, which they (the three) then prefixed to a more or less cut-up edition of his account of the meeting with the knights. *SP* and *Card* lack entirely the devil and the angels; *Pd* knows not the devil and has forgotten God; out of *W* the angels have fallen; and the only thing *PC* catches is the devil.

As regards the number and names of the forest knights, *SP* and *Pd* present a noteworthy similarity in that the knights were three in number, and that the names of two of them were Gawain and

<sup>1</sup> *Pd*: One day when Peredur and his mother saw three knights pass along the forest, he asked her what they were. She answered that they were angels. Peredur then said he would go and become an angel with them. He went to meet them. . . . When he returned to his mother, he said that the knights were not angels but knights; and his mother swooned.

Ewain<sup>1</sup> (Owain). Opposed to them stands *C* with five knights, of whom the leader is quite youthful.<sup>2</sup> Wolfram appears to have combined the two accounts; he adopts the leader of *C*, gives him a name, and then adds him to the three (now unnamed) knights of the *SP-Pd* type.<sup>3</sup>

In *SP* Perceval threatens the life of Kay, who is said to be the third knight. Nothing similar in this scene occurs in *C*, *W*, or *Pd*,<sup>4</sup> but in *Fool* at exactly the same place relatively the Fool slays out of hand the man (his foster brother) who has just told him of knightly life. In *Ty*, furthermore, the hero was trying to slay the stag that becomes the Stag-Knight and teaches him concerning knighthood. In *SP* Kay's life is saved by the sudden and singular intervention of a buck. (Compare *Ty*'s Stag-Knight.) These resemblances may be entirely the result of chance; but I incline to the belief that if we were more familiar with the pedigree of each tale, we should find them due to consanguinity.

In all versions except *C* the close connection between the horse and knightly life is stressed at this point.<sup>5</sup> In *C* Perceval knows all along how to ride. In *W* and *Pd*, although horses (work-horses) are a part of the mother's establishment, the hero knows nothing of riding; when about to leave home, he has in *Pd* to make a saddle, and in *W* to ask his mother to give him a horse. Carduino sees

<sup>1</sup> Ewaynefytz Asoure (*SP*, 261) out of Fitz. . . . z Ur(ien) > Fitz as-Ur(ien)? Ewayne was son of Urien: cf. *Erec*, 1706, "Yvains, li fiz Urien;" *Yvain*, 1018-19, 1818, 2122, 3631, "fiz au roi Urien"; *C*, 9518 ff.; Potvin I, pp. 24, etc.; *Morte Arthoure*, 2066 (*E.E.T.S.*, No. 8, 1865), "Then syr Ewayne syr Fitz Uriene full enkerly rydez"; etc.

<sup>2</sup> In *C* the leader was probably not thought of as Gawain, for he is made to say (1500-1502):

"N'a mie encor. V. jors entiers  
Que tout cest harnois me dona  
Li rois Artus ki m'adouba."

Gawain, however, was not at court when Perceval came there, though his squire Yones was; cf. ll. 5464 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In *Prose Tristan* (Læseth, pp. 239 ff., §§ 308 f.), Agloval is the informant. The mother lives in her "tower" with Perceval, and there they weep for the death of Pelinor, Lamorat, and Driant. Agloval alone meets Perceval (his brother) in the forest and tells him of knighthood. *Tristan* crosses another version through *C* (cf. p. 18, note), ignorant of or ignoring *PC*. If *C* 1607-82 is an interpolation, it might easily have arisen out of an account like this passage in *Tristan* (perhaps poorly understood). Perceval's two older brothers, Lamorat and Driant, were slain on the same day (*Tristan*, p. 237, § 307). Whether the "disputed passage" of *C* could have been the source for the Pelinor-Lot feud of *Tristan* need not be considered here.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. further comment in chap. v, p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> *PC* ceases before this point is reached; it asserts that Perceval knows how to ride.

horses for the first time when Arthur and his party come into the forest to hunt, and upon this occasion he outruns their horses. In *SP*, when Perceval is on his way home after meeting the knights, he captures a wild mare, rides it home (because the knights had ridden on such beasts), and later rides it when he leaves home. The Great Fool sees a wild horse, hears then for the first time of knighthood, catches the horse, and rides away from home on it.

The second of the two symmetrical portions is that of the mother's Advice and the son's adventure at the Tent. Six versions have the first incident, the Advice;<sup>1</sup> only four of them contain the Tent incident. The summaries of the two incidents are as follows:

#### VII. THE ADVICE GIVEN BY THE MOTHER TO HER SON

*SP*.—1. He should—(a) be of "mesure," (b) be "fond to be free," (c) take his hood off to a knight. 2. To his question she replied, a knight may be known by the fur in his hood. 3. At parting she gave him a ring of recognition—a ring by which she could know him when they should meet again.

*W*.—1. He should—(a) cross no dark ford, (b) be courteous, (c) greet people, (d) learn of a wise man, (e) take a girl's ring and her greeting if it could be won, (f) kiss a girl if she would permit such. 2. He was told that Lâhelein was his enemy, having taken his lands.

*Card*.—1. He should—(a) serve King Arthur as he would his mother, (b) and obey him. 2. He was told to revenge his father's death.

*Ty*.—1. He was told to go to King Arthur. 2. He was given Advice—to keep company with none but those of gentle birth.

*C*.—1. He should—(a) aid women, (b) if he courted one, serve without annoying her; (c) it is an honor to kiss a girl if she be willing, and he should demand no more than she was willing to grant; (d) he should take her ring, belt, or purse if she would give it; (e) he should ask a man his name; (f) go with gentlemen, for they do not deceive; (g) and pray in churches and monasteries. 2. In answer to questions he was told that (a) a church is a place where one makes sacrifice of Him Who made heaven and earth, and placed men and women there; and (b) a monastery is a place where relics are kept, and where is sacrificed the body of Jesus, Who saves souls from hell.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The bestowal of advice is not an uncommon thing, even in the romances, but I have found help in no other form of it I have met with. In *C Gornemans* (2831-80) and the *Hermit Uncle* (7813-48) offer the hero advice; in *W Gurnemanz* (III, 1625 ff.) does, but the uncle, *Trevrizent* (V and IX), does not; in *Pd* (253) one uncle does. Cf., further, *C*, 7766 ff.; *Wauclier*, 26305 ff.; *Morien*, pp. 42-43 (Miss Weston's transl.); *Erec*, 1793-99, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Prefatory to the advice in *C* the mother says—rather inconsistently: You are going to King Arthur, and you will get arms; I fear you may be slain; but you will be a knight soon if it please God, and I would have you be one (1704-26).

*Pd.*—1. He was told to go to Arthur's court. 2. He should—(a) pray at each church, (b) if he saw meat and drink, and none offered them to him, take what he might need, (c) help anyone crying for aid, especially a woman, (d) if he saw a jewel, take it and give it to another, for thus he would obtain praise, and (e) pay court to a fair woman whether she wished it or not.

## VIII. THE ADVENTURE AT THE TENT

*SP.*—1. Arrival—Perceval entered a hall. 2. Recollection—Seeing there a table set, a fire, a manger, and corn, he recalled that his mother had said, "Be of 'mesure.'" 3. Meal—He parted the corn in half for his mare, and ate half of the things on the table, leaving the other half; how could he be more of "mesure"?—he wished to be "free." 4. The Tent Lady—He passed to another chamber, found a Lady asleep, and said he would take a token of her. 5. The Ring—He kissed her, took a ring off her finger, and placed his mother's ring in its stead. 6. Departure—Then he left.

*W.*—1. Arrival—Parzival came to a Tent and entered. 2. Tent Lady—He saw a Lady asleep, and spied a ring on her finger. 3. The Ring—His grasp waked her, but her struggles were useless; he kissed her, and took her ring and her brooch. 4. Meal—He said he was hungry; the Lady pointed out bread, wine, and two game birds, saying he might eat them; he ate and drank his fill. 5. Recollection—The Lady bade him return her ring and brooch, and flee from her husband's wrath; the hero, replying that he feared not her husband but would go if his presence annoyed her, kissed her as she lay on her couch, and bade God bless her, "So my mother taught me." 6. Departure—Then he rode away.

*C.*—1. Arrival—Perceval came to a Tent, which he took for a monastery, and entered. 2. The Tent Lady—There he found a Lady asleep, but the whinnying of his horse waked her. 3. Recollection—He saluted her, saying his mother had bidden him salute maidens wherever he found them; he also said he would kiss her, for his mother had told him to do so. 4. The Ring—He kissed her rudely twenty times, saw her ring, and took it, saying his mother bade him take it. 5. Meal—Then he saw food in a corner of the Tent, wine and three pasties; he ate one pasty and part of another, bidding the Lady finish it, for then a whole one would still be left; he ate what he wished and covered the rest. 6. Departure—Leaving the Tent, he rode on.

*Pd.*—1. Arrival—Peredur came before a Tent, took it for a church, and said a Paternoster to it. 2. The Tent Lady—In the open door of the Tent sat the Lady, wearing a frontlet and a finger ring; she welcomed him when he entered. 3. Recollection—Seeing two flasks of wine, two loaves of bread, and boar's flesh,<sup>1</sup> he said: "My mother told me wherever I saw meat and drink, to take it." 4. Meal—The Lady replied: "Take it and welcome"; he took half of the meat and liquor for himself, and left half for the Lady. 5. The

<sup>1</sup> Loth has: "des tranches de cochon de lait" (p. 50).



Ring—After eating, he bent on his knee before the Lady and said: "My mother bade me take a jewel wherever I found one"; she replied: "Do so, my soul"; so he took her ring. 6. Departure—Then he mounted and left.

In *SP* the Tent Lord is not referred to until Perceval meets the Tent Lady the second time. In *C*, *W*, and *Pd* we are told here of his return to the Tent and of his anger and jealousy at finding that a visitor had been there in his absence.

Concerning the mother's religious Instruction of her son, it has been pointed out that such an incident appears to underlie the *C* account. If we grant that *C* is the source, we must presume that the authors of *SP*, *W*, and, to a lesser degree, *Card* and *PC* concurred in elaborating Crestien's hints into a separate incident and in giving it the same position in the tale. The hero's behavior toward the forest knights is perhaps sufficient to account for such a development in *SP*, *W*, *PC*; but *Card* must be explained in some other way. If, on the other hand, we consider that Crestien drew upon a source more like *SP* and *W*, we find that he did two things: he chose to weave in the Instruction subordinately rather than to use it as a separate incident, and then he combined a more advanced kind of instruction with the Advice. *Pd* follows *C* in this respect. That certain items of the Advice of *C* and *Pd* are due to contamination from the Instruction incident looks the more probable when it is remembered that these items lead the hero (in *C* and *Pd* only) into his second Error, the supposition that the Tent is a monastery, which is nothing but an echo of the first Error of mistaking the forest knights for God.

The hero's departure from home occurs, in all versions except *C*, immediately after he learns of knighthood or early the next morning; in *C* he waits three days. The lingering is due merely, I think, to a disposition in the literary group—*C* and *W*—to dwell tenderly upon the mother's great love and her suffering. *W*'s poetic treatment of the mother's grief had the same origin.

The mother's fate is different in two different groups. In the Grail group she is said to fall dead of grief at her son's departure; in what I may call the folk-tale group she either lives on to rejoin her son when he has achieved greatness, or nothing more is said of

her at all. This difference I think I can explain, if the reader will permit me merely to state here what I believe I shall show pretty conclusively in the end. The Grail group made the change. Some author (whether Crestien or an earlier one) decided to insert the Grail story into the Perceval tale. Now, in the story of the visit to the Grail castle one element that was fixed was the hero's failure to ask the important question concerning the meaning of it all when he saw pass before him the Grail and other objects.<sup>1</sup> This early author conceived it to be a part of his duty to furnish an adequate reason for this failure; he sought it in the punishment of a sin; and for the sin he chose to make the mother die as a consequence of her son's departure.<sup>2</sup> The motivation of the mother's death is undoubtedly poor. It is a contradiction to the whole fate element of the tale to make it a sinful thing for the hero to leave the forest to go seek his fortune. Wolfram (or his authority) felt the insufficiency of this unconsciously committed sin, but instead of getting out of the difficulty, he went farther into it, for he changed the character of the Red Knight (Ither), made him a relative of Parzival, and then counted it a sin for Parzival to slay him (IX, 1279 ff.). The folk-tale group—keeping its events always in the shadow of the pillar of cloud which is foreordination and compelling fate—slurs over the mother's unhappiness, leaves her well after her son's departure, and finds no place for sin and its punishment.

The two incidents of the Advice and the visit to the Tent are now linked closely together in the Perceval tale.<sup>3</sup> Some of the ways in

<sup>1</sup> That the failure was a significant and integral part of the original Grail story appears certain. It is found in the accounts of Gawain's visit to the castle.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the assertions of the *giermaine cosine* (= Sigune) and the Hermit Uncle. The same impulse caused the author to insert Gornemans' advice to avoid many questions (C, 2831 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> The scribe of *SP* thought of them as easily separable. At the conclusion of st. 27, or between ll. 432 and 433—i.e., between the conclusion of Perceval's life in the forest and the beginning of the incident of the Tent Lady—there is inserted the expression, "Here is a Fytt of Percyvelle of Galles." Nothing similar occurs elsewhere in *SP*. Cf. the similar single occurrence in *Sir Degrevant*, st. 22; cf. also *Awntyrs of Arthur*, sts. 20, 38; *Sir Amadace* (Robson), 17, 43; *Avowing of Arthur*, 30, 48; *Eglamour*, 30, 54, 77. In *Pd Lady Guest's* printed version of the Welsh shows three breaks: the first, Vol. I, p. 238, occurs at just the same place at which *SP* inserts "Fytt"; the other two, pp. 268, 282, set off a series of incidents that are a story within themselves. In the translation, Nutt's reprint (pp. 251, 271, 281) and the edition of 1838-49 do not indicate the first, but both mark the others. The Welsh of *Y Mabino-*

which an item of the Advice is bound to an item in the Tent adventure, and in which a portion in one version is complemented by a portion in another, are of sufficient interest to be pointed out. In two versions, *C* and *W*, the hero is advised to kiss a lady if he have opportunity, and in three versions he kisses the Tent Lady against her will. The omission of the kiss in *Pd* is probably the result of accident, for its presence in *Pd*'s source is implied by the advice to court a lady whether she wished it or not; and so far as she was tested, *Pd*'s Tent Lady was oddly complaisant. An exchange of rings appears only in *SP*. There is no mention of a ring in the Advice of *SP*; there is such in *C*, *W*, and *Pd*. In the last the advice is, where you see a jewel, take it off and give it to another person. In all four versions the hero bears away the Lady's ring. It is possible that the Advice in *Pd* may have arisen through a misunderstanding of an original in which, as in *SP*, an exchange of rings occurred. It is possible, too, if for a moment the hypothesis be granted that the author of *SP* had before him a manuscript of *C*, that the English account may have arisen from a misreading of *C*'s statement (1915-16) that the hero took the Lady's *ring off her finger and placed it on his own* into Perceval took the Lady's ring off her finger and *placed his own on it*; after which we are to presume that the Englishman inserted the account of the mother's ring to provide for the "his own." But *C*'s statement will not explain the Advice of *Pd*; nor will it account for the importance attached to the brooch in *W*. Another interesting crossing is connected with the item in *SP*'s Advice, "Be of mesure." Perceval recalls this advice when he comes to the Tent, interprets it to mean that he is to take only half of what he sees, and follows it strictly, as regards food and drink. No other version contains anything similar in its Advice. In *W* he makes no such division, but "eats his fill"; in *Pd*, however, he divides the meat and drink, taking half and leaving half; and in *C* the equable division occurs in a blurred way (see the second clause of *C* 5 on p. 35, *supra*), as if the writer had preserved in a half-buried fashion a matter from his

*gion Cymreig* (Liverpool, 1880) is fully paragraphed. *The Text of the Mabinogion* (Rhys and Evans, Oxford, 1887) has only two breaks in its *Pd* (pp. 220, 232), the last two of Lady Guest's text.

source which he did not regard as significant and which—perhaps unconsciously—he altered.<sup>1</sup> The Advice in *Pd* to take food if no one offers it is almost meaningless (though referred to) for the Tent incident in *Pd*, where the Lady bids the hero eat as much as he wishes; but it is apposite to the Tent incident in *SP*, where throughout his visit no one is awake to offer him food.<sup>2</sup>

It looks as if the Perceval tale developed out of a simpler tale in which, measured by the evidence of *Card* and *Fool*, the mother gave her son some elementary religious Instruction, the son shortly afterward learned accidentally of some phase of knightly life, returned to tell his mother of his determination to go out into the world, and the mother gave him simple Advice which was intended to make his life easier and safer. Whether or not such was the evolution cannot be told as yet.

The discussion is continued in chapter V.

Cf. ll. 1945-49:

Et dist: "Pucele, cist pasté  
Ne seront hui par moi usé;  
Venés mangier, il sont moult bien;  
Assés ara cascuns del suen;  
S'en i remanra .I. entiers."

And the contradiction(?), 1953-54:

Et cil manga tant com lui plot  
Et but tant ke assés en ot, etc.

<sup>1</sup> The hero's behavior at another meal may be compared; a reflection of the equable division appears in two accounts (*W* and *Pd*) of the first meal at the besieged castle (cf. chap. iv), but not in *C* or *SP*.

*C*.—1. Blanchefur said, We have naught but a few crumbs [from a pious uncle], a flask of wine, and a buck. 2. Tables were spread, and the castle folk sat down and ate with relish. 3. After supper some went to bed, others went on guard. 4. Perceval was cared for, given a bed, sheets, and a pillow, and he soon fell asleep.

*W*.—1. Two uncles told Condwiramur they were giving her twenty-four loaves of bread, six shoulders and hams, sixteen cheeses, and four casks of wine. 2. All within the city received food, because— 3. Parzival advised that the food be shared around, though it gave only a morsel about. 4. Then he went to rest.

*Pd*.—1. Two nuns brought in a flask of wine and six loaves of bread. 2. The household went to eat. 3. The Lady wished to give more of the food and liquor to Peredur than to anyone else. 4. But he said he would share the food; so he gave an equal portion of bread to each, and a cupful of wine. 5. A chamber was prepared and he went to sleep.

Compare further *Yvain*, 1046-54; and *Ywaine and Gawin*, 577-60:

A capon rosted broght sho sone,  
A clene klath, and brede tharone,  
And a pot with riche wine,  
And a pece to fil it yne.

## CHAPTER III

### THE RED KNIGHT-WITCH-UNCLE STORY

#### NINTH INCIDENT: THE ARRIVAL AT COURT

##### A. *The Hero Enters the Palace*

- I. (a) *SP*, 481-500; (b) *C*, 2026-2132.
- II. *Ty*, 277-88.
- III. *W*, III, 779-992.
- IV. *Pd*, 248-49; *Fool*, 161-62.  
*Card*, lacuna. *Fool* ceases to be similar after this point.

##### B. *Conversation with the King*

- I. *SP*, 501-600; *Ty*, 289-320; *Card*, XXX, 1-XXXIII, 4.
- II. (a) *C*, 2133-2255; *W*, III, 993-1119; (b) *Pd* (substitute—with *Kay*), 249.  
*Ty* and *Card* begin to be quite different after this.

#### TENTH INCIDENT: A KNIGHT INSULTS THE KING

- I. *SP*, 601-56.
- II. *Pd*, 248.
- III. *C*, 2057-2159; *W*, III, 872-936.

#### ELEVENTH INCIDENT: THE HERO AVENGES THE INSULT

- I. *SP*, 675-820.
- II. *C*, 2256-2399; *W*, III, 1127-1292; *Pd*, 249-51.

#### TWELFTH INCIDENT: THE ENCOUNTER WITH A WITCH

- I. *SP*, 821-68.
- II. *G*, Potvin VI, 183-86 (*The Library*, January 1904, pp. 72-74).
- III. *Pd*, 273-74.

#### THIRTEENTH INCIDENT: THE HERO ENTERTAINED BY RELATIVES

##### A. *The Relatives' Enemies*

- I. *SP*, 869-948.
- II. (a) *G*, 181-83, 187-88; (b) *Pd*, 273-74.
- III. *C*, 2497-2892; *W*, III, 1355-1898; *Pd*, 251-53.

##### B. *News of the Besieged Lady's Distress*

- I. *SP*, 949-1056.
- II. *C*, 2892-3250; *W*, IV, 1-499; *Pd*, 256-58.

MODERN FOLK-TALES<sup>1</sup> CONTAINING THE INCIDENTS OF:

- I. Insult, Relatives, Hag Battle, Relatives, Insulter's Punishment  
*Red Sh*, with its variants, 451-93; *Ransom, Champion, Hookedy*.
- II. Insult, Insulter's Punishment, Hag, Relatives  
*Conall*, 249-51, 286-94; *Fear Dubh, Alba*.
- III. Relatives, Hag Battle, Relatives  
*Faolan, Manus, Big Men, Fionn and Bran, Dough, Kil Arthur, Mananaun*.
- IV. Fragments  
*Birth of Fin, Lawn D.*

The present chapter will be devoted to five incidents embracing some 575 lines, rather more than one-fourth of the poem, in the middle of *SP*. The incidents are: the Arrival of the Hero at Court, the Insult Offered the King, the Death of the Insulter, the Battle with the Witch, and the Hero's Meeting with Relatives. As usual, after a comparison between *SP* and *C*, other tales will be introduced into the discussion to see what information may be garnered concerning the ancestry of the English poem. For results we shall uncover four conditions upon which we may rest further study with a reasonable degree of certainty that they are facts: (a) certain odd details show that *SP* and *C* are closely related;

<sup>1</sup> I have brought together in each chapter whatever material I could find that bears a strong likeness to *SP*. Then I have endeavored to weigh and to use each piece of material scientifically. If I understand Zimmer aright (in his review of Nutt's "Studies," *Goeth. gel. Ans.* [1890], No. 12, pp. 488 ff.), it is his opinion that the modern folk-tales (Nos. 11 ff. of the list on pp. 4-6, *supra*) cannot possibly be used "scientifically" in the study of my problem, since the antecedents of these tales cannot be traced before the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries, and since French romances were known to the Gaels before that time—since the romances, i.e., may have been the source of the tales. The opinion is sound in part (and a very good one to keep in memory), but, as I think, only in part. The nature of the evidence itself offered by the tales may help determine their credibility. If the tales demonstrate the existence of a pretty clearly defined series of events; if the most reasonable belief is that this series underlies Crestien's poem, and if, nevertheless, the poem cannot possibly have been the source for the "series of events"; if writers almost contemporary with Crestien lend additional evidence for the existence of that "series" and yet cannot have been the source of it; if, finally, *SP* can be shown to possess more of the "series" than *C*, cannot be accounted for as sprung from *C* plus the other French accounts, and cannot itself have been the source of the series; then the evidence of the tales may not be neglected by the student who means to do scientific work. See, also, the comment of A. C. L. Brown, "The Knight of the Lion," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XX, p. 700, n. 2.

For substance the tales are certainly available evidence.

For priority and for dates evidence must be sought elsewhere.

The accounts of a hag ("caillech") mentioned by Zimmer (same article, 508-9) have not, so far as I can determine, any bearing on the accounts of the carlin of chap. iii.

(b) each of these two versions contains incidents not to be found in the other; (c) comparison of them and other tales makes it possible to reconstruct much of what must have been the common source; and (d) such a reconstruction develops a "story" that had a separate existence before it was incorporated into the Perceval tale.

To summarize *SP*:

IX. From the hall (=Tent), Perceval journeyed on till he came to the palace of King Arthur. He rode into the hall and came so close to the dais<sup>1</sup> that his horse kissed the forehead of the King, who was eating; he demanded that he be made a knight immediately. The King was reminded of his knight Syr Percyvelle, of his death, and of the prophecy that only the son<sup>2</sup> could avenge the father. Perceval was greeted so kindly that he fastened his mare and sat down to table. X. Before he began to eat, a knight in red armor rode in upon a red steed, insulted the company, grasped the gold cup that was before the King, drank the wine, and rode away bearing off the cup. The King grieved that he had no one to revenge the insult, for the Red Knight had acted in this way for five years. The hero said he would overthrow the Red Knight and return the cup if the King would make him a knight. Arthur agreed, and Perceval followed the Red Knight. XI. Overtaking the Red Knight, Perceval slew him with a cast of his dart. Then he desired the red armor, but was not

<sup>1</sup> For lists of references to similar feats, cf. Child's *Ballads*, notes on "King Estmere," II, 51, and the additions of Kittredge, II, 510; III, 508.

<sup>2</sup> Asked who he is, Perceval, not knowing his name, can only reply to the King that he is "his own mother's child"; see II, 506, 1094, and cf. Hertz's note, *Parsival*, p. 444; a similar expression does not occur in *C* at this place. *C* says only that when Perceval returned home after meeting the forest knights, his mother called him "biaus filz" more than a hundred times (1567); similarly, *PC*, 1231. Cf. Heinzel, *Ueber Wolfram's Parsival*, 34. *W*, III, 722, has "bon fils, cher fils, beau fils"; similarly, *J. Titurcl*, 4387, 4. Cf. similar expressions in *Bel Inconnu*, 115 (ed. Hippeau); *Libeaus Descomus*, 26, 66 (Kalusa); *Chevalier au cygne* (Hippeau) I, 35; *Chevalier a deux espées* (Förster, 1877), 10773; Heinzel, *Gralroman*, 24, note 1; P. Paris, *Romans d. l. Table Round*, III, 27; Nutt, *Studies*, 153; Miss Weston, *Leg. of SP*, I, 68 ff.

Cf. further: *W*, XIV, 1246, Arthur refers to Beaucorps as "My sister's son"; XIV, 1303, Beaucorps is called "Lot's child," and VI, 1291-1303, Gawain's brother; XIV, 1450, Arthur calls Gawain "My sister's son"; cf. also I, 1165. Cf. the kinship between Perceval and Arthur in *SP*, discussed in chap. i, *ante*; and between Perceval and Gawain in *SP*, 1441, 1457, discussed in chap. v, *infra*. The Beautiful Unknown, in *Libeaus D*, is Gawain's son; Malory's Gareth is Gawain's brother.

Perceval, as the name of a knight, occurs first, in romance, in *Erec* (only once, l. 1526); it appears four times in *Cliges* (4828, 4831, 4847, 4851); Crestien does not mention it in his *Yvain* or *Chevalier de la charrette*. In the legend of Perceval the hero is usually supposed to be long in ignorance of his own name. *C* first mentions it in l. 4751, where the hero states it, although he had presumably never heard it. *PC* (739-42) makes a mystery of it, saying that when the hero was christened, his name was pronounced so low that no one heard it. I cannot see that any special significance attaches to Crestien's repression of his hero's name, since such a repression was no unusual device in his poems; cf. the name Enid in *Erec*, Laudine in *Yvain*, and Lancelot in *Chevalier de la charrette*.

able to unlace it; so he built a fire to burn the body out. Gawain<sup>1</sup> arrived, stripped the armor off, and placed it upon Perceval. That hero, disdaining to return to the King, sent the cup by Gawain, tossed the dead knight's body upon the fire, and rode on. XII. Next morning he met a Witch, the mother of the Red Knight. She thought him her son, and said that she had been told falsely that he was dead, and that even if he had been dead she could have revived his body. Perceval, rejoicing that he had burned the body, slew the witch with her son's own spear, and bore her body to the fire upon which the Red Knight had been burned. XIII. Then he rode on until he overtook ten knights—his Uncle and nine cousins—who fled from him, thinking him their enemy, the Red Knight. After they learned their mistake, they entertained Perceval in their castle. While they were at table, a messenger brought news of the Besieged Lady's distress, and Perceval determined to go to her rescue. He started, accompanied by three of his cousins, but after a short time he sent them back, and rode on alone.

In *C* the account, arranged in six incidents, runs thus:

¶ Perceval left the Tent, and next met a charcoal-burner, who directed him to court. Approaching, he saw issue from the gate a knight clad in red armor and bearing a cup in his hand. Perceval said he would demand the red armor from the King. The Red Knight stopped him to send a message of defiance to Arthur. The hero, little regarding the message, passed and came to where the King was seated at meat. Arthur was lost in thought. Perceval, riding in, asked a boy which was the King. ¶ Then he addressed the King, who made no response. Perceval said, "This King makes no knights"; and in disgust turned his horse's head, which accidentally knocked off the King's head-gear. Thereupon the King roused and spoke. ¶ He told of the coming of the Red Knight, the insult, and the spilling of wine on the Queen; and said, Unless God helped him he would die. Perceval paid no attention to the account, but demanded that Arthur make him a knight. Arthur promised he would do so; then Perceval demanded the red armor. ¶ Kex sneered at the hero, and injured a damsel and a fool who did honor to Perceval. ¶ Perceval, unheeding Kex, went out to seek the Red Knight, and Yones followed, in order to bring back the news. Perceval came to the Knight,

<sup>1</sup> Perceval's assistant is: in *SP*, Gawain, the leader of the forest knights; in *Pd*, the leader of the forest knights; in *C*, Yones, esquire of Gawain (*C*, 7064 ff.; Wauchier, 11102); in *W*, Iwanet, the queen's servant (*III*, 1197-99). The disposition seems strong to connect Gawain with the hero's entry into life. *W* makes Iwanet, not Gawain's squire, but servant to the queen; but it is a romance commonplace that Gawain was a ladies' knight, in particular the queen's knight: cf. *Awentyrs of Arihur*, st. 1; *Avowing of Arthur*; *Gow. and Green Knight*; *C*, 9546 ff., *W*, XII, 1274-1313, XIII, 542 ff.; *Merlin* (ed. Sommer), chap. xxvi, p. 343; Miss Weston's *Leg. of Gow.*, pp. 75 ff., and *Leg. of Lanc.*, pp. 117-18, 95.

In *C* we are told later that Gawain was away from court at the time; cf. p. 33, n. 2.

Gawain was the assistant in other tales, going to the aid of the hero in *Ty* and in its cognate in the Dutch *Lanzelet*.



demanded the armor, and was struck over the shoulders by the Knight's lance for his pains. With his gaverlot he smote the Knight through the eye to the back of the neck, and slew him. Yones arrived when Perceval was having trouble to loose the red armor, and assisted him to don it. Perceval bade Yones bear the cup to the King and messages to the damsel and the fool whom Kex had struck. ¶ He rode on till he reached the castle of Gornemans; there he was instructed in the use of arms by him, received one night's entertainment, and was knighted by Gornemans next morning. He left to seek his mother, and came next, by accident, to the castle of the Besieged Lady (Blancheflur).

The two poems show great similarity of substance. But they manifest, also, certain considerable differences. For one thing the poets used different devices for presenting their materials before the reader (hearer). The writer of *SP* narrates in his own person the coming of the Red Knight to court, and the insult to the King. Crestien, in a sort of second-hand way, places the account in the mouth of the King.<sup>1</sup> This difference, in its turn, rendered necessary another one: in *C* Perceval, before reaching the King's castle, meets the Knight; in *SP* there is no such meeting. For a second thing, the two poems are different in contents. All of the fourth incident and part of the fifth of *SP* are entirely unrepresented in *C*. Nothing of Kex's insulting behavior to those who honor Perceval and its consequences as told in *C* appears in *SP*.

Although *C* does not make the hero's entrance into court a separate incident, while *SP* does, it is interesting to note that the two versions possess in common two striking points that do not appear in any other versions. The first is an evidence of boorishness in the hero's manners—he rides so near to King Arthur that his horse's head kisses the King's forehead or displaces his majesty's head-dress. The second is the King's pensiveness—in *C*, because he is meditating on the Red Knight's insult; in *SP*, because, when he looks on Perceval, he is reminded of the knight Syr Percyvelle, whom he had lost fifteen years before.

Crestien's device of presenting indirectly the Red Knight's visit and insult (by making the King recount them) is to be con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. use of same device in the "disputed passage," chap. i. The author of *Pd* says (direct narrative) that before Peredur reached court a knight had been there and insulted the King, etc. Wolfram, "improving" upon *C*, has the Red Knight recapitulate the affair when he meets Perceval about to enter the palace.

sidered, I think, an attempt at refinement; for the reader's (hearer's) attention is thereby centered upon the King's grief rather than the Knight's roughness, and a rough scene seems less rough if told as having happened than if presented as occurring. It is easy to conceive of Crestien's refining a source of the *SP* type. It is less easy, if *C* be considered the source, to account for the stepping-down process from *C*'s refinement to *SP*'s rudeness.

The incident of the Red Knight's death furnishes three interesting points for mention here: (a) The redness of the Knight's armor is insisted on by all the versions—*SP*, *C*, *W*, *Pd*. The equipment is not stated in our cycle to have possessed magic qualities;<sup>1</sup> but in *C* the behavior of Gornemans when Perceval comes to his castle appears vaguely to hint at something extraordinary in it;<sup>2</sup> and Wolfram (III, 1355-66) dwells upon the (supernatural?) power of the horse.<sup>3</sup> (b) The red armor came early to be intimately associated with Perceval, who was himself then sometimes referred to as the Red Knight. But for Perceval to acquire it, it was necessary for the Red Knight to die. Hence Crestien found it impossible to save the life of that knight, though his hero does not slay any other person; and Crestien offers a sort of retroactive excuse for the Red Knight's death by making it (through Gornemans' advice) seem due to Perceval's want of courtly instruction.<sup>4</sup> (c) The third and most significant point is the burning of the Red Knight's body. The English writer thought it a very important matter, for he reverts to it twice: the Witch says she could have revived the dead body if she had found it; and the Uncle expresses joy when he learns it has been burnt. There is nothing in *C* out of which the

<sup>1</sup> *SP* and *Pd*, however, assert that the Knight was a magician.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ll. 2559-71; 2576-77; 2727-30; in the first passage Gornemans shows curiosity about Perceval's arms; in the second, about his horse; in the third—

"Dont, alons huimais à l'ostel,  
Fait li preudom qu'il n'i a tel;  
Et vous arez, qui qu'il anuit,  
Ostel sans vilonie anuit."

And the hero in *Red Sh* (cf. later) says he desires the arms of the Insulter because they are the best in the world, but he does not get them.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Sir Eglamour*, 610-15 ("Thornton Romances," 121 ff.), in which a damsel gives the hero a red horse of such virtue that a man may never be slain while riding it. In *C* the Knight had dismounted before he struck Perceval; in *SP*, *Pd*, and, apparently, *W* he had not.

<sup>4</sup> In *W* Gurnemanz was not pleased to hear of Ither's death (III, 1619-20).

*SP* account could easily have grown, but there are some lines now of little purport that become significant on the hypothesis that they are remnants of a burning-the-body incident somewhere in the sources of *C*. Perceval is speaking to Yones:

Je quidoie de vostre roi  
Qu'il m'eüst ces armes donées;  
Ains auroie par carbonées  
Trestout escarbellié<sup>1</sup> le mort,  
Que nule des armes enport.

—2326–30.

The three incidents—the arrival of Perceval at court, the insult of the Red Knight, and the overthrow of the Red Knight—could conceivably, without any overwhelming difficulty, so far as our discussion has yet shown, have come from *C* into *SP*. We should then have to say that the visit to the Uncle was so far altered as to leave the merest fact of a visit as the only remnant. But there remains the incident of the Witch in *SP*, which has no possible origin in *C*. And the discussion that follows will show that it is not an episode, to be looked on as something standing alone because invented by the author or borrowed and lugged into his tale. But it is part of “a story.” The other incidents in *SP* that belong with it, as parts of the same story, are the insult of the Red Knight, his death, and Perceval’s visit with his Uncle; and the whole may be designated the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story. From the variants that we possess, it is possible to reconstruct much of the story in its more primitive form. It is the basis for this portion of *C*, but since *SP* preserves more of the earlier form than *C* does, it is certain that *C* is not the source for this part of *SP*.

Before beginning a discussion of this “story,” let me point out that after the arrival of the hero at court *Ty*, *Card*, and *Fool* cease to be like *SP* and *C*; their heroes go to aid a woman, Perceval goes to avenge the insult to the King. Summaries of *Ty*, *Card*, and *Fool* follow:

*Ty*.—Having kissed his mother farewell, Tyolet went over mountains and valleys till he came to the court of the King. Arthur was seated at meat when he rode up to the dais. Tyolet spoke not. Arthur bade him descend

<sup>1</sup> Most MSS have “esbraoné”; cf. Miss Weston, *Leg. of SP*, I, 79.

and eat, and tell what he sought, who he was, and what his name was. Tyolet said he wished to be made a knight, and gave his name, and said his mother was the widow of the forest. Arthur was pleased, and Tyolet sat down to eat. Soon a damsel came in seeking aid for herself (275-323).

*Card.*—(Lacuna.) Arthur heard Carduino, took him by the hand, and asked his name, father, mother, and country. Carduino did not know who his father was; his mother was "d'una vil gente"; and Carduino had come to serve Arthur truly. The King bade the barons serve him. He washed and went to the table. The barons marveled at his size. Presently came in a beautiful damsel to seek the King's aid for her mistress (xxx-xxxiii).

*Fool.*—The Fool went in wonder to see the palace of his father's brother. In a dispute he slew the King's son. Then he went where the King was. "Creud orm," said the Fool. The King asked who he was. He replied that he was the fool of the forest and could make a fool of the King. The King said his adviser had done that when he persuaded him (King) to leave the widow alive when he slew his (King's) brother. The King then went with the Fool on an adventure to rescue a beautiful woman (162-63).

The tales to be studied for the purpose of reconstructing the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story are *SP*, *C*, *W*, *Pd*, Gerbert's "continuation," and some modern folk-tales.<sup>1</sup>

Next to be set down are summaries of the tales concerned,<sup>2</sup> and afterward will come the discussion of them. Four incidents appear, though they do not always occur in the same order.<sup>3</sup> To enable the reader to follow more readily, the summaries are arranged in two sets: *SP*, *Pd* (*a* and *b*), *G*, *Red Sh*, and *Conall* are first set forth by incident, the sequence of the tale being disregarded where necessary; the second set includes the rest of the modern folk-tales, summarized each according to its own sequence. The reader not familiar with *Red Sh* will get a good idea of it by reading the summary of *Ransom* (pp. 55 ff., *infra*), a variant of it.

<sup>1</sup> Nutt (*Stud.*, esp. pp. 165-69) pointed out many resemblances, using *SP*, *Pd*, *G*, *Red Sh*, and *Conall*. He was intent upon finding the Grail, however, and my study leads me to believe the Grail entered the legend late.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing will be gained by repetition or elaboration of the summary of *C. W*, in outline, is much like *C*: the chief variations are that (*a*) the account of the Red Knight's insult is placed in the mouth of the Knight himself; (*b*) the Knight's character is exalted and praised; (*c*) the two persons who honor Parzival at court are dignified, named, and given greater importance; (*d*) Gurnemanz has three sons (now dead) and a daughter instead of the two attendant youths of *C*; he offers the daughter in marriage to Parzival, and she is refused. The significance of the variations will be discussed in the comments.

<sup>3</sup> The sentences are numbered to indicate the original sequence, and also for use in the table on p. 55, below.

## A. THE INSULT TO THE KING

*SP.*—1. The King was among his courtiers, the hero seated near him. 2. The Red Knight (a magician) entered, made sport of the company, drank the wine in the King's cup, took the cup, and departed. 3. The King lamented the want of a champion, and spoke of the Knight's former insults. 4. Perceval undertook the adventure. 5. It had been predicted that he would avenge the death of his father, slain by the Red Knight.

*Pd(a)*—1. King Arthur was in his court, but the hero was not present. 2. The Red Knight (a magician) entered, dashed wine in the Queen's face, struck her a violent blow in the face, gave a general challenge, took the goblet, and departed. 3. Shortly afterward the hero arrived at court and was honored by two persons, whom Kay thereupon insulted. 4. He heard from Kay of the Red Knight's visit and insult, and was bidden to go and procure the Red Knight's armor. 5. He departed to do so. 6. By prophecy it appeared that he was to be the best knight in the world.

*Pd(b)*.<sup>1</sup>—13. The Empress (the lady who before this time had given Peredur a magic stone; cf. below) was holding a great marriage tournament. 14. One day when the hero was seated beside her, a Black Man entered, bearing a goblet of wine; he dropped upon one knee and besought the Empress to bestow the goblet on no one who would not fight with him for it. 15. The hero requested the cup, drank the wine, and used the cup to pay a debt. 16. The scene was repeated for a second and a third man. 17. The hero slept that night. 18. Next day he armed himself, went to the meadow, and slew the three men.

*G.*—(No equivalent. The scene has already been related in *C.*)

*Red Sh.*—1. The King of Eirinn was seated among his nobles, the hero being near by. 2. A personage (a magician) drew near, spoke to (insulted?) the company, struck the King in the face, knocking out three teeth, which he took, and departed. 3. Red Shield and two other knights undertook to avenge the insult.

*Red Sh variants.*<sup>2</sup> *Variant a.*—The king was out hunting with his attendants, his son being near by. A rider on a black horse came, struck the king with his fist, knocked out one of his teeth, and took it away with him. The king's son vowed to recover the tooth, and set off on his travels (Mrs. MacTavish's version, Campbell's *Tales*, II, 484).

*Variant b.*—[The King was situated as in *Red Sh* (?), but instead of the rider on the black horse] a head came in a flame of fire, and another head came

<sup>1</sup> *Pd(b)* is *Peredur* from the incident of the Black Oppressor to the marriage of Peredur to the Empress (Nutt's ed., pp. 271-81). It has in its time served several uses: Rhys (*Arthurian Legend*) used it in an effort to show that Perceval and Iwain are well-nigh two names for the same hero; Schofield (*Harv. Stud. and Notes*, IV) made it an important link in his endeavor to reconstruct the earlier form of the Beautiful-Unknown tale. In neither of these two cases, it seems to me, was this portion of *Pd* used properly. For *Pd(b)* 1-12 see below.

<sup>2</sup> The variants are given by Campbell in his notes.

singing. A fist was struck on the door of the mouth of the king, and a tooth was knocked out. . . . The head did this three years after each other,<sup>1</sup> and then it went home (MacDonald in *Tales*, II, 485).

*Conall*.—[A partially similar incident.] 1. The King was at table with guests, the hero being present. 2. An enemy entered, drew his fist, and struck the King between the mouth and the nose, and drove out three front teeth, which he caught on the back of his fist. . . . 3. The hero avenged the insult, though not with death (Campbell's *Tales*, III, 249).

#### B. THE INSULTER'S DEATH<sup>2</sup>

*SP*.—6. The hero left court, encountered and slew the Red Knight, donned the red armor, and rode on.

*C*, *W*, and *Pd(a)* are, except for the burning of the Knight's body, much like *SP*; there are no points needing elaboration.

*Pd(b)*.—Cf. 18 above and 1 below.

<sup>1</sup> This statement lends support to, though it does not explain, a difficult passage in *SP*, in which Arthur asserts:

"Fyve ðeres hase he [Red Knight] thus gane,  
And my coupes fro me tane,  
And my gude knyghte alayne,  
Mene calde syr Percyvelle;  
Sythene takene hase he thre," etc. (633-37).

Cf. also items 16 and 18 under *Pd(b)* above; and the time allusions in *Paolan* (seven years); *Momus* (seven years); *Fionn and Bran*.

With the prophecy recalled by Arthur, that Perceval should avenge his father's death (by inference, slay the Red Knight and the Witch), cf. the prediction in *Pd(b)* (p. 276, l. 9) that Peredur should slay the Addanc; in *G* that only Perceval could slay the Hag; and in various tales summarized below that only the hero could accomplish the adventure.

In the Scotch tales it is the King's teeth (or tooth) that the insulter takes away; when the hero recovers them, he places them in a cup of wine or water which he gives to the King, and as soon as the monarch drinks, the teeth fly back into their proper places. In *SP*, *C*, *W*, and *Pd* it is the King's drinking-cup that the Red Knight bears away. The Scotch form is, I think, the more primitive; perhaps the *SP* form rose through an effort at refinement.

<sup>2</sup> In *SP* the hero burnt the Knight's corpse and, later, that of the Witch. A connection has been suggested between the Mother's Advice and the lines:

"He sayd, 'My moder bad me,  
Whenne my dart solde brokene be,  
Owte of the irene brenne the tree,  
Now es me fyre gnede!'" (749-52).

Cf. Nutt, *Stud.*, p. 149. I have been unable to discover any connection with the Advice, and incline rather to see in them the poet's *ex post facto* invention for the purpose of justifying the burning of the Knight's body (cf. also *SP*, 1679 ff.).

Wolfram makes the Red Knight the nephew of Uther Pendragon (III, 877-78), best of knights, and near kinsman to Parzival.

The romancers were rather fond of referring to a knight as a "Red Knight": cf. *Erec*, 5367-6410, esp. 5898 ff.; *Perlesvaus* (Potvin, I, 20-21), a "Knight of the Red Shield," who was slain by Perlesvaus before he left his forest home; Wauchier, 23124 ff.; Jacob von Maerlant's *Roman von Torec* (2121 ff.), where a "Red Knight" is overthrown by Torec; Malory, *Morte D'Arthur*, Gareth and "Ironsyde" (Sommer's ed., I, 234 ff.); etc.

*Red Sh.*— Cf. 11 and 19 below.

*G.*—Wanting.

*Conall.*—The hero overthrew but did not slay the Insulter.

#### C AND D. THE WITCH AND THE RELATIVES INCIDENTS

*SP.*—7. The hero rode all night [but in the morning was back in the same place]. 8. He met a Witch, who recognized his horse and arms, and thought he was the Red Knight, her son. 9. She addressed the hero, who remained quiet: "Had you been slain and your arms taken off, I could have revived you." 10. Then the hero knew that burning the Knight's body had saved his own life. 11. Taking the Witch upon [her son's] spear, he cast her body into the fire that had burned the son's body. 12. After a short ride, he approached ten men, who fled from him, thinking him the Red Knight. 13. They were the hero's Uncle and his nine sons. 14. When they learned he was not the Red Knight, they explained to him the Knight's enmity, and then all went to the Uncle's hall, where the hero was entertained. 15. While they were at table, a messenger arrived, announcing the plight of the Besieged Lady (Lufamour in *SP*; Blancheflur in *C*). 16. The hero decided to go to the rescue. 17. Three of his cousins started off to accompany him, but he soon sent them home, apparently without reason, and he went on alone.

*G.*—1. One day Perceval met four Young Men leaving a battlefield and carrying Gornumant, their father, badly wounded. 2. After being entertained by Gornumant, and hearing his story, the hero vowed to avenge him. 3. But he learned that the enemies slain by day were resuscitated at night by a hideous Hag.

4. After slaying his adopted enemies, the hero lay down upon the battlefield to sleep. 5. At midnight he saw the Hag coming—

Ele arisist ausi come une esche  
Se on boutast en li le fu.

6. She had two little barrels of magic ointment which would revive the dead. 7. After she had restored four enemies to life, the hero mounted and rode at her. 8. She recognized him and knew that only he could slay her. 9. She explained to him that he could never find the Grail so long as she lived, that the balm would revive the dead, and that she made war upon Gornumant at the command of the King of the Waste City because Gornumant had knighted Perceval. 10. He struck off her head, next had his horse slain under him, and was wounded, but slew the resuscitated knights. 11. He revived his horse, and then the best of his enemies, only to slay him again. 12. He cured himself, and went to the castle and cured Gornumant. 13. Promising to return to Blancheflur (niece of Gornumant) and marry her, he departed.

*Pd(b).*—1. After slaying the Black Oppressor, Peredur rode to the palace of the Sons of the King of Tortures, entered, and found only women. 2. Presently a charger arrived bearing a corpse in the saddle. 3. A woman took

the corpse, bathed it in warm water, placed balsam on it, and the man rose up whole. 4. This was repeated for two other men. 5. Explanation was made that all three were slain once every day by the "Addanc."

6. Next morning the three Young Men started off to battle. 7. The hero begged to accompany them, but was told that if he were slain there would be no one to revive him. 8. He attempted, nevertheless, to follow them, but they had disappeared. 9. He met a beautiful woman, who accosted him, explained about the Addanc (a mysterious cave-dweller), and gave him a magic stone by means of which to overcome the Addanc—on condition that he should love her supremely, and seek her "toward India." [An incident<sup>1</sup> omitted.] 10. The hero arrived at the cave, used his stone, pierced the Addanc with his spear, and cut off the Addanc's head. 11. As he left the cave, he met the three Young Men, who said there was a prediction that he would slay "that monster." 12. The hero refused the sister they offered him in marriage, gave them the Addanc's head, and departed. [In two incidents the hero befriended Etlym, a knight who wore red armor and rode a red horse. Then he attended the marriage tournament of the Empress: cf. *Pd(b)* 13, above.]

*Red Sh.*—[The hero traveled seeking the Insulter. He leaped over a circle of fire, and entered an island. He found on a hillside a beautiful woman with the head of a great sleeping youth on her knee. It was hard to wake the youth, but (according to prophecy) the hero roused him. The youth called the hero by his name (Red Sh)—"It is this day that thou has the name"; and they fought till the hero swept the head off the other. Then he took the Lady to the ship; and when he went back into the island, his treacherous companions sailed away with the Lady (458-61).] 4. After wandering for some time in the island, the hero drew near a castle, or town. 5. He saw three Young Men coming heavily, wearily, tired from a battlefield. 6. They saluted, and all four entered the town. 7. That night they slept. 8. Next morning the three Young Men began to arm themselves. 9. They were the hero's foster brothers; and they told him that for a year and a day they had warred against the Son of Darkness, Son of Dimness, and a hundred people, but every enemy slain one day was alive the next. 10. The hero wished to go to battle with them, but learned they were under a spell of such a nature that if he fought he must fight alone against all the enemies.

11. He went to the battlefield, and when he had killed the Son and all his hundred people, being wounded, he lay down on the field to sleep for the night. 12. Waked by a great noise [and light?] from the seashore, he saw coming a great, toothy Carlin. 13. She bent over two corpses, placed her finger in their mouths, and restored them to life. 14. Next she placed her finger in the mouth of the hero, who with a bite severed it; she kicked him a long way off, and leaned over another. 15. The hero took "her son's short spear"

<sup>1</sup> The omitted incident bears some resemblance to the brachet incident in the "Lay of the Great Fool" and that in the Wauchier "Continuation." On this resemblance cf. Schofield, *Stud.*, 171 ff.



and struck off her head. 16. He rested till he heard his three foster brothers weeping and seeking him. 17. They said that if they had the Carlin's vessel of balm, they could soon cure him. 18. He directed them to the Carlin's body, and when they had fetched the balm and anointed him, he rose cured. 19. The next day the hero slew the personage who had insulted the King.

*Red Sh Variants. Variant a (cont.).*—The King's son went to three houses, where he found three sisters, each of whom gave him a pair of magic shoes, which returned home when they had carried him seven years' journey in one day. The last sister was young and lovely; she lowered him over a rock in a basket to fight her brother, who was a giant with three heads. He cut off a head each day; fired a pistol shot at the foot of the rock as a signal to be hauled up each evening, for the giant never fought after sunset; and he was cured with a magic balsam by the lady each night, and went out fresh each morning. The giant's head leaped on as often as it was cut off, but an eagle came over the prince and told him to hold the sword on the neck till the marrow froze, which he did, and the giant was killed. He took the spoil from a castle, found the King's tooth in a drawer, returned home with the beautiful lady, healed the King, and married the lady (*Tales*, II, 484-85).

*Variant b (cont.).*—Campbell says: "The remainder of [a second] story is nearly the same as the Knight of the Red Shield. . . . then follows a different set of adventures. . . . The fearful old woman, with the marvelous teeth; the gigantic warriors, of whom there are three with many heads; and three lovely ladies, who are found under the ground, and carried off by the cowards [the hero's two companions]. The story ends with the replacement of the king's lost teeth, and the punishment of the knight and the cook [the companions]; and [the hero] married the three ladies at once" (*Tales*, II, 485-86).

*Variant c.*—In this variant, which Campbell barely sketches, the story appears to draw close to *Conall*. The hero was Young Heavenly Eagle, son of the King of Greece: he married a Greek lady, and turned out to be the King's only legitimate son (*Tales*, II, 487).

*Variant d*, under the name of "The Son of Green Spring by Valour."—The hero was son of the Red Ridere, and went off in a boat with the King's two sons to recover the King's teeth [apparently opening with the Insult, just as does *Red Sh*]. . . . He had a stone of victory, with which he slew his foes. . . . He came to a small house where he found no man, but food for three—wine and wheaten loaves. He took a little from each portion, and got into one of the three beds. Three sorely wounded men came in, cured themselves with a magic balsam, and discovered him, and on the morrow he went to fight for them. The three Young Men were enchanted princes, the rightful heirs of this fiery island, compelled for twenty years to contend daily with armies, giants, and monsters. They had lost their mother, and someone had stolen their sister, who turned out to be the lady whom the hero had already rescued. They told him what he would have to encounter, but he went on and overcame

everything, and his coming had been foretold. Armies of enchanted warriors fell, three giants with several heads, the three harpers of the little harps, the Son of Darkness, Son of Dimness, and, worst of all, a terrible old Carlin, because he was aided by his victory stone. . . . When the old Carlin arrived, she came over the sea with a magic cup to revive the dead warriors and her son. She put her finger into the hero's mouth, and he bit it off. He cut her head off, it leaped on again, he cut it off again, and it flew up into the skies; he held his sword on the neck, looked up, and saw the head coming down and aiming at him; he leaped to one side, the head went four feet into the earth, and victory was gained. The three Young Men carried him home, bathed him in balsam, and cured him. He raised their father and mother from the dead, and they promised him their daughter and realm. He recovered and restored the King's teeth, restored his father to honor, and married the fair lady, who was daughter of the king of the town under the waves (*Tales*, II, 491-92).

*Conall*.—4. After a multitude of adventures, Conall wondered how the fight in the realm of Iubhar<sup>1</sup> [= Judea, Jewry, Newry?] was coming on between his mother's brother and the Turks, and if his father and brothers [who had gone to the aid of the King of Iubhar] were yet alive. 5. He set out to see, with him his wife, Duanach (his minstrel), and two champions for friends. 6. When they reached the realm of Iubhar, the fighting was going on. [7. Three one-day battles are described; as the first two are redundant, only the third will be summarized. All whom Conall slew one day were alive the next. The King of Iubhar was brother to Conall's mother. On the evening of the second day, after the battle, the King of Iubhar sought Conall at his inn, but Duanach said he was asleep, and refused to wake him; but he told the King who Conall was, and promised to tell Conall of his Uncle's visit and to deliver the King's invitation to Conall to come to the castle next day.] 8. On the third day the army of the Turks came on, and Conall went with the people of Iubhar to battle. 9. He saw the big Turk come opposite him the third time [he had slain this giant(?) twice already]; Conall slew him, and the Turks fled. 10. The people of Iubhar slaughtered till no more enemies were to be found, and then retired. 11. "It seemed to Conall that there was something that was to be understood going on in the field of battle in the night." 12. Ordering Duanach back to the inn, he stayed to watch the slain—and Duanach stayed to watch him. 13. When the night grew dark, there came a great Turkish Carlin, bearing a white glaive of light with which she could see seven miles before her and seven behind her, and a flask of balsam. 14. She placed three drops of balsam in the mouth of a corpse and bade him rise and go home; he went. 15. She passed from one to another, reviving them for the next day's battle. 16. She treated Conall in the same way, but from his alacrity she saw he was not a Turk, and fled. 17. Conall pursued; she threw away the flask and the glaive; but he overtook her and slew her with his sword. 18. Using

<sup>1</sup> A variant gives "Turkey" (Campbell, p. 260, note).

the glaive of light he sought the balsam, but Duanach had already picked it up. 19. Conall took the flask, and gave the glaive to Duanach, bidding him lead off the resurrected Turks to destruction. 20. Conall put the balsam under his head and went to sleep, since he could do nothing more till he had slept. 21. Afterward he revived his own people, and went about the field seeking his brothers (whom he gave to his two champion friends to take to safety). 22. The great Turk came to him on hands and knees. 23. Conall found his father and the King of Laidheann imprisoned and fettered. 24. The death the great Turk had measured out for them, to that Conall doomed the Turk. 25. After that Conall returned to his wife and took her home with his father and brothers, and all were welcomed by his mother (285-93).

*SP* and *C* show, as has been said, certain significant agreements that lock them closely together. They tell the same story, with this limitation, that *SP* has added some parts that were not in the original story or that *C* has lost some that were.

*C*, *W*, and *Pd(a)* tell one and the same story.

*SP* agrees with *Red Sh*, *G*, *Pd(b)*, and *Conall* and they agree one with another, in so many points, great and small, as to show that they preserve the same story.

*SP* mediates between the group of the first three accounts on the one side and the group of the last four accounts on the other. The four incidents—A, the Knight's Insult; B, his Death; C, the Witch's Death, and D, the Meeting with the Uncle (relatives)<sup>1</sup>—appear, in so far as they occur, in sequence as follows:

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
<i>C, W, Pd(a)</i> .....	A	B	..	D	..	..	..
<i>SP</i> .....	A	B	C	D	..	..	..
<i>Red Sh</i> .....	A	..	..	D	C	B	..
<i>G</i> .....	..	..	..	D	C	..	..
<i>Pd(b)</i> .....	..	..	..	D	C	A	B
<i>Conall</i> .....	A	B	C	D	..	..	..

The subjoined table shows that in the tales of this set there is incorporated a single story—the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story—and that, though it appears with several variations or as several variants, it is at bottom one and the same story. The table shows

<sup>1</sup> In the comment on this incident (p. 68, *infra*), it will be shown that it fell into two parts in the early form of the story, a meeting before, and one after, the battle. In the Perceval tale and in *Conall*, only the second visit appears, though a modification of even this statement is necessary for *SP*.

that though the sequence of incidents changes from tale to tale, the sequence of items within each incident is much the same.

	<i>SP</i>	<i>Red Sh</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Pd(b)</i>	<i>Conall</i>
A. A Knight insults the King	1-5	1-3	...	(13-16)	1-2
B. The hero slays the Insulter	6	19	...	(17-18? or 1?)	3
He spends the night on the battlefield.....	7	11	4	6, 10	11-12
C. He encounters the Witch..	8	12	5	9-10	13
Whose Son is mentioned.	8	11	[8-9]	...	...
The Magic Balm.....	9	13-14	6-7	3	13-15
The prophecy.....	...	...	8-9	11	?
The Witch's death.....	11	15	10	10-12	16-17
By her Son's spear....	11	15	(10?)	...	...
The burning of the Witch..	11	(12?)	(5?)	...	(13?)
D. The hero meets the Uncle..	12-13	...	1	...	(7)
Or (and) the Three Young Men.....	12-13	5	1	1-4	(7)
Who are retiring from battle against the Witch's Son.....	12	5	[1]	[5]	(7, 9)
They entertain the hero...	14	6-8	2	5-6	(7)
And tell the story of their enmity.....	14	9	2	6	(4)
The hero offers to aid them	[16]	10	2-3	7	(5)
But because of a spell.....	...	10	(3?)	7-8	...
He must fight the battle alone.....	17	10	3	8	...

<sup>1</sup> A prophecy occurs within the story in both *SP* and *Red Sh*, but at a different place; cf. "5" in *SP*.

<sup>2</sup> In *Conall* the Big Turk is probably the Hag's son; there is no statement. *Conall*'s father and brothers are substitutes for the three Young Men. The story of the Turk's enmity is known to *Conall* before he leaves home. He does not meet his Relatives before the battle, but he wins the battle for them. He does not fight alone. His meeting with his Uncle is the "second" one.

#### THE SECOND SET OF TALES

##### *First Group (see p. 41, supra)*

*Fionn's Ransom* [a variant of *Red Sh*].—Fionn was with "his three foster brothers, the Red Knight, the Knight of the Cairn, and the Knight of the Sword," on a hill. Out of a shower from the northwest came a rider on a black horse. He knocked out the three upper and three lower of Fionn's teeth. The foster brothers started off to recover them.

A little, insignificant, but strong man appeared, asked permission to accompany them, was refused it by the brothers, but was granted it by Fionn. While sailing, the man climbed the mast when the others had failed. They came to a harbor in the "Kingdom of Big Men" guarded by three Fiery Darts that gleamed all around it. The little man leaped over the fire, then returned, and, carrying the travelers, leaped over it again.

Walking in the island, they found a tall woman with a brown, fat, little lap-dog at her heels; when the dog looked at Fionn, his teeth were in place; when he looked away, the teeth were gone. Taking woman and dog, the foster brothers went back to the ship, and left the little man on the island.

He came to a small dwelling-house, and entered. A tall man returned home, and to a salutation and inquiry announced: "My news are but sorrowful, for my beautiful sister, who used to put me in the bath when I returned home from fighting the battle, and made me as cheerful as ever to go to battle and combat the next day, has been taken away, and is lost and astray from me." The little man washed him in the washing-bath, so that he never felt more refreshed or joyful. The same happened for a second and a third man (brothers of the first). The little man asked if he might go to battle in their place, and was refused. Explanation was made: a regiment of soldiers would come, and though he beheaded each one, a Hag would come after him with a life-restoring stoup and dip her finger in that and put the finger in the mouths of the men, and each would spring up alive. Then would come a regiment of soldiers with musical harpers at its head who would put him to sleep. Then a tall man of terrific aspect; and after him would come an old woman whose breath would kill.

The little man obtained permission to go to battle. He hid till the first regiment passed, then rose and slew each one. The Hag arrived, restored a soldier, and came to the hero, who bit off her finger. He rose and slew her and the restored soldier by one stroke. The harpers came; the hero fixed his sword so that the point would prick his forehead if he nodded. When the soldiers had past, he rose and slew all. He dug a hole and covered it over with wood, grass, and moss. The Big Grey Man came. The hero so conducted his fight that the Big Grey Man fell into the hole; then the little man cut off his head. The Old Woman came, and she and the hero fought till both fell exhausted. In the morning the brothers came to the battlefield, and at the hero's request placed balsam in his mouth; thus reinvigorated he rose and slew the Old Woman.

The hero went home with the brothers and lived with them for a while. One day when the hero was on a hill, the rider on the black steed came out of a shower and attacked him, but had his head cut off. The hero found on this rider only two combs and a purse in which were Fionn's teeth. He took the teeth and returned to the brothers' home. The tallest brother lamented, telling the hero he had slain their father's only brother. Another said: "It has long been foretold that it would be the restorer of Fionn MacCumhail's loss who would give us deliverance from all our warfare and conflict."

The hero decided to leave. The brothers gave him the Black Steed. "And you will bring to our sister news of us, and make her your lawful wife." He returned and restored Fionn's teeth.

*The Champion of the Red Belt.*—The Champion was traveling from Greece

in search of the "healing water" to restore his brother, who had lost his life through the enchantment of the harper, who had played a tune that put him to sleep, after which the King of the Eastern World had slain him.

The Champion went toward the Eastern World. He came to a ten-foot fence, and leaped it. There were the "three sons of Kanikinn," playing ball. They told the Champion that the King Knight of the black castle had taken the healing water from them seven years before; and now he killed three hundred men every day. They told the Champion he had best not go to the black castle. [Thus the enmity to the Three Young Men is obscured.] The Champion came to a black castle. He heard a noise and jumped behind a barrel to hide. Light burst from the castle door; the knight of the castle arrived home, hung his sword on a peg, and took off his coat of steel. The Champion challenged him; the knight replied that they would not fight till morning, invited the Champion in, and promised him safety, saying he had talked with no one for seven years. The Champion requested the "bottle of healing water," and was told that the knight's stepmother had taken it seven years before. Every day the knight has had to kill three hundred men, and the stepmother ("hag of sorceries") brought them to life again. Conversation revealed the fact that the knight of the black castle was the Champion's youngest brother, lost at the time of birth. [Here the kinship comes in—the youngest brother is substituted for the Three Young Men who are foster brothers.] The Champion asked permission to do the fighting next day instead of the knight, and finally was allowed to go.

He slew the three hundred men. "Then he lay down among the dead men to see what it was brought them to life." The hideous hag came with a bottle of the water of healing on a button that was on her breast. There was a feather in the bottle; with the feather she rubbed a corpse, and the man came alive. She restored nine, whom the Champion slew. Then he and the hag fought. He finally slew her by striking off her head, and took the bottle of healing water. When dying, the hag put him under spells to meet the three hundred cats. He went to meet the cats, and told of the death of the three hundred men and the one-legged hag. He slew the cats, and by the last one was put under spells to fight the Wether of Fuerish Fwee-erë. He sought and slew the Wether, who put him under spells to meet the king cat of the Western Island [who was, however, a hag]. "He went forward in the camp." He met the king cat, and they fought. She [the hag] had a long tail with a poison spot on it. She jumped over him, put the poison spot through his heart, and then with the claw on the end of her tail she drew the heart out of him. As the Champion was falling, he thrust his hand through her open mouth and drew out her heart. The two fell dead.

The king knight of the black castle followed to see how his brother should fare. He found the slain and followed on. He came to the bodies of his brother and his stepmother. "A lump of mist came" and told him which was the Champion's heart; he washed it, fixed it in his brother, found the

bottle of healing water, dipped the feather in it, and rubbed his brother's mouth; and the Champion rose up alive and well.

The Champion provided a wife for the knight; returned, restored the bewitched brother, and provided him a wife, the daughter of the King of Underwaveland. Then he went to the island of the King of Greece, and there he married the King's daughter.

*Hookedy.*—Jack was son of the King of Ireland. Seeking his fortune, he took service with a giant, who, going from home, gave Jack the run of the whole place except the stable. Jack entered the forbidden place, and, though punished for doing so, was led thereby into his further adventures. A mare and a bear found in the stable befriended him. On the mare he fled, the giant pursuing. A chestnut and a drop of water (each taken from the mare's ear) thrown behind him by Jack interposed barriers the giant could not overcome. Jack, mare, and bear came to safety; as they parted, the mare blew on Jack, and he became an ugly little hookedy-crooked fellow; then she gave him a wishing-cap, promised aid, and they departed. Jack took service with a King of Scotland, who did not fear Jack's influence over his daughters, he was so ugly. The King of Scotland was threatened with war by the King of the East. Advised by his druid, the King of Scotland sought aid by marrying his daughters, the oldest to the King of Spain, the next to the King of France. The youngest daughter refused to marry at all, and was banished the royal presence.

The King of Scotland then sent the Kings of Spain and France to the Well of the World's End to bring bottles of "Ioca" [a liquid that would heal wounds and revive the dead] to use after the battle. Jack sought advice of the mare, used his wishing-cap, and of course, got the "Ioca," two bottles of it. He kept some of it, and gave the rest to the Kings of France and Spain, who returned to the King of Scotland and were welcomed as heroes; Jack returned to his humble duties as gardener's help. Battle was prepared. Jack went to the mare, secured arms and equipment, won the battle for Scotland, and disappeared. The second and third days were similar, Jack appearing finer each day. The Ioca revived the Scottish army. After further mystification of his friends, Jack explained the whole matter, and married the youngest daughter. The mare was disappointed, for she was a maiden condemned (bewitched) to that shape for a number of years, and her brother was the bear. She had hoped to marry Jack herself, but she wished him well.

#### *Second Group*

*Fear Dubh.*—Fear Dubh invited the Fenians to a feast at his castle in Alba; and when they were seated, they could not rise from their seats. Fear Dubh was coming with an army to slay them—"These men from Alba had always a grudge against the Champions of Erin." The horn of distress was sounded. Fin's son Fialan, only three years old, rose in Ireland and came to aid his father.

Instructed by Fin, Fialan took his place in the ford, and when Fear Dubh and his army arrived, he slew them all; a second army under Fear Dubh's younger brother fared likewise; a third under the youngest brother also. Diarmuid, who had been hunting, came to Fin's aid. Through the castle door, Fin told him: "Oh, Diarmuid, we are all fastened in here to be killed. Fialan has destroyed three armies, and Fear Dubh with his two brothers. He is raging now along the bank of the river; you must not go near him, for he would tear you limb from limb. At this time, he wouldn't spare me, his own father; but after a while he will cease from raging and die down; and then you can go. The mother of Fear Dubh is coming, and will soon be at the ford. She is more violent, more venomous, more to be dreaded, a greater warrior than her sons. The chief weapon she has are [*sic*] the nails on her fingers; each nail is seven perches long, of the hardest steel on earth. She is coming in the air at this moment with the speed of the hawk, and she has a kŭran (a small vessel), with liquor in it, which has such power that if she puts three drops of it on the mouths of her sons they will rise up as well as ever; and if she brings them to life there is nothing to save us. Go to the ford; she will be hovering over the corpses of the three armies to know can she find her sons, and as soon as she sees them she will dart down and give them the liquor. You must rise with a mighty bound upon her, dash the kŭran out of her hand and spill the liquor. If you can kill her, save her blood, for nothing in the world can free us from this place and open the door of the castle but the blood of the old Hag." . . . Aided in the fight by Bran (Fin's dog) Diarmuid succeeded.

He caught the Hag's blood in a vessel, and with it cured his own wounds and Bran's, and released the Fenians.

*Fin MacCumhail and the Son of the King of Alba.*—[This tale contains almost a repetition of the preceding adventure.] Fin and his followers, stuck to their seats in a magic castle, were released by Pogán and Ceolán, Fin's two sons [=substitutes for Fialan]. They slew an army; then came music; then the Hag with a little pot [of balsam], and she was slain. Then the heroes had to slay three kings in the north of Erin, for only by the blood of the kings could they release Fin and his company (J. Curtin, *Myths. etc.*, 292-303).

Kennedy (*Bardic Stories*, 116-26) has a variant of the last tale in "An Bruighean Caorthain (The Quick-Beam Fort)." Lochlann, a Grecian chief, the King of the World, and three Kings of the Islands of the Floods are among Fin's enemies; but the Hag and her Balm do not appear.

### *Third Group*

*Faolan.*—Faolan and Dyeermud traveled days till they came to a large, white-fronted castle. They knocked, and were admitted by a fine young woman, who kissed Faolan and said: "You and I were born at the same hour, and betrothed at our birth. Your mother married Fin to rescue her brothers, your uncles, from the bonds of enchantment." They sat down to eat and



drink; and they were not long eating when in came four champions, all torn, cut, and bleeding. Dyeermud started up, sword in hand. "Have no fear," said she to Dyeermud. The four champions explained: they were returning from battle with a wild hag, who for seven years had been trying to take their land from them. All the warriors they slew in the day she raised up at night. And they would have to fight again the next day. Dyeermud bade them stay at home next day, and he and Faolan would do battle for them.

Faolan and Dyeermud went out, began at opposite ends of the host in the morning, and met at the middle at sunset, slaying all the hag's warriors. "Go back to the castle," said Faolan to Dyeermud; "I will rest here tonight, and see what gives life to the corpses." Dyeermud left.

About midnight, Faolan heard the voice of a man in the air just above him. "Is there anyone living?" asked the voice. Faolan, with a bound, grasped the man, and, drawing him down with one hand, pierced him through with his sword in the other. The man fell dead; and then, instead of the old man he seemed at first, he rose up a fresh young man of twenty-two years. The young man embraced and thanked Faolan. "I am your uncle," said he, "brother of the poisonous hound that you freed from enchantment at sea. I was fourteen years in the power of the wild hag, and could not be freed till my father's sword pierced me. Give me that sword, which belonged to my father. It was to deliver me that your mother gave you that blade. I will give you a better one still, since you are a greater champion than I. I will give you my grandfather's sword; here it is. When the wild hag grows uneasy at my delay, she herself will hasten hither. She knew that you were to come and release me, and she is preparing this long time to meet you. For seven years she has been making steel nails to tear you to pieces; and she has sweet music which she will play when she sees you: that music makes every man sleep when he hears it. When you feel the sleep coming, stab your leg with your sword; that will keep you awake [no Harpers occur]. She will then give you battle; and if you chance to cut off her head, let not the head come to the body: for if it comes on the body, all the world could not take it away. When you cut off her head, grasp it in one hand, and hold it till all the blood flows out; make two halves of the head, holding it in your hand all the while; and I will remove the stone cover from a very deep well here at hand; and do you throw the split head into that well, and put the cover on again."

All happened as the uncle had said. But just as Faolan was going to cover the well, the head spoke, and put him under spells to go tell the Cat of Gray Fort that he had destroyed the hag. The uncle embraced Faolan then, and said: "Now I will go to my sister, your mother; but first I will guide you to this hag's enchanted well: if you bathe in its water, you will be as sound and well as ever." Faolan bathed and was cured. Then, not calling Dyeermud, he went to seek the Cat. He killed the Cat, and was sent to tell the Kitten of Cul MacKip of the deed. He went to seek the Kitten. Toward evening, he saw a castle, went toward it, and entered it. When inside he saw half a

loaf of barley bread and a quart of ale placed on the window. "Whoever own these, I will use them," said the youth; he ate, and then saw a kitten by the ashes. After a battle of a night and a day, he slew the Kitten; and was put under spells to tell the Dun Ox. He went on, met a forester, who welcomed him, and directed him and explained how the Dun Ox was to be slain. Faolan encountered the Ox, and both he and the Ox were slain.

"Dyeermud slept a hero's sleep of seven days and seven nights." He waked, heard no tidings of Faolan, and, furious, set off to seek him. Faolan's betrothed and her four brothers accompanied him. The young woman was the wise one and the leader. They followed Faolan's trail of slaughter till they met the forester, who recognized Dyeermud. The six spent the night at his cabin, and next morning they found Faolan. "The young woman bathed him with some fluid from a vial, and, opening his mouth, poured the rest down his throat. He rose up at once, as sound and healthy as ever." . . . The forester directed them to the castle of the Black-Blue Giant, and accompanied them.

[Other adventures occur that have no bearing here.]

Dyeermud was sorely wounded, but was healed by the forester, who rubbed ointment on him. Later Dyeermud, by request, cut off the head of the forester, and thus restored him to youth; and he was Arthur, son of Deara, under enchantment, and he was in love with Dyeermud's sister. All visited Erin and returned, and then Faolan married the sister of the four Young Men. End follows soon.

*Manus.*— . . . Manus entered a room in a brilliantly lighted building, and there found food set out for twelve champions; he tasted some of each portion, and hid himself; but he was discovered soon after the Big Men entered. The Red-haired Man (the leader) shortly afterward explained why he could not sleep. For seven years he had contended against three big giants, their mother, and their hosts of thousands; those slain in the day came alive at night. There was a prophecy that this state of things would last till the coming of Manus, son of the King of Lochlann (and son, also, of the sister of the Red-haired Man).

By telling a story, Manus put the Red-haired Man to sleep; then he took the Man's sword, went to the battlefield, and lay down among the dead. [Manus had not fought.] One after another, three five-headed giants came, prepared to raise the dead by placing a finger in the corpse's mouth, reached Manus, recognized him when he bit their fingers (the last two speaking of the prophecy), wrestled with him, and then were slain. Each giant bore "a reviving cordial" to waken and bring alive the dead. When day was approaching, the hag came, recognized Manus, and engaged in battle with him. When he struck off her head, it flew back on, till a voice told him to hold his sword on the neck till blood and marrow froze. He did so; and all the giants were now destroyed. Harpers came, but he slew them with their own harps. He lay down upon the battlefield.

In the morning the Red-haired Man sought and found Manus, took him home, and later helped him in his next adventure. . . .

*Big Men.*—Substitute for the Insult: three Champions from the Kingdom of Big Men came to Erin in a boat like "the blackness of a shower"; they challenged Fin, but he put them under spells to remain where they were till his return.

Fin went to the Kingdom of Big Men and was taken by the King to be his dwarf. The King had to go away each night.

Fin secured permission to go in the King's place one night. . . . The King's opponent was a Monster. Fin put the Monster off for two nights. Next night Fin, with the help of Bran, slew the Monster, cut off its head, and took it home. Next night he did the same for a still greater Monster. On the last night he slew the Hag, who like her son and husband, the Monsters, came up from the sea. There was a prophecy, said the King, that only Fin could bring relief from these creatures, who had long harassed the Kingdom.

Fin returned home, succeeded by the help of Skilful Companions in stealing the magic shirts from the Three Champions, and then overcame them and forced them to swear fealty to him.

*Fionn and Bran.*—Much of the incident outlined above recurs. The King has not been able to sleep for seventeen years; and the second Monster and the Hag do not occur (J. G. Campbell, *The Fians*, 212-18).

*Dough.*— . . . Amadan was forced by his stepmother to leave home. He traveled till he came to a castle, entered, found dinner spread, and ate. Three young men entered, tired and bleeding; they struck a flint against the castle, and the castle shone as if on fire. . . . They had daily to fight three giants.

Amadan and they went to battle. The giants were slain; Amadan sent the princes home, and he lay down upon the battlefield. The Hag came, accompanied by four badachs (unwieldy big fellows), and bearing a feather and a bottle of iocshlainte (ointment of health). She revived the giants; then Amadan slew all eight. By the geasa of the Hag and of successive victims, he had to seek and slay the Black Bull of the Brown Wood, the White Wether of the Hill of Waterfalls, the Beggarman of the King of Sweden, and the Silver Cat of the Seven Glens. After he left the Hag, he came to a cottage covered by only a single feather, where he found "a rough red woman," and from her he had full directions how to meet and slay each new antagonist.

After all his enemies had been slain, he traveled back to the "Castle of Fire"; and the princes gave him their sister, extremely beautiful, for wife, and half their fortune.

The rough, red woman disappears; she is not said to be kin to anybody, hero or princess. Compare the Empress in *Pd(b)*.

*Kil Arthur.*— . . . Arthur overcame a giant, who to save his life offered Arthur his sword of light, rod of enchantment, and "healing draught which cures every sickness and wound." Arthur received the gifts, but struck off the giant's head anyway. He thrust the head in the fire, and as soon as he did, a beautiful woman stood before him, and said: "You have killed nine of my

brothers, and this was the best of the nine. I have eight more brothers who go out to fight with four hundred men each day, and they kill them all; but next morning the four hundred are alive again, and my brothers have to do battle anew. Now my mother and these eight brothers will soon be here; and they'll go down on their bended knees and curse you who killed my nine brothers, and I am afraid your blood will arise within you when you hear the curses, and you'll kill my remaining eight brothers." Arthur promised he would not. All happened as foretold.

Next morning he arose early, girded on his nine-edged sword, went to where the eight brothers were going to fight the four hundred, and said to them: "Sit down, and I'll fight in your place." He fought, and at midday he had them all slain. "Now someone brings these to life again," he said. "I lie down among them and see who it is." Soon he saw an old Hag coming with a brush in her hand, and an open vessel hanging from her neck by a string. When she came to the four hundred, she dipped the brush into the vessel and sprinkled the liquid which was in it over the bodies of the men. They rose up behind her as she passed along. "Bad luck to you," said Arthur; "you are the one that keeps them alive!" Then he seized her; putting one of his feet on her two ankles, and grasping her by the head and shoulders, he twisted her body till he put the life out of her. Dying, she put him under spells to tell the Ram of the Five Rocks of the deed. He went to the Ram, seized it, and dashed its brains out.

Then he went to the castle of the beautiful woman whose nine brothers he had killed, and for whose eight brothers he had slain the four hundred. When he appeared, the mother rejoiced; the eight brothers blessed him and gave him their sister in marriage; and Kil Arthur took the beautiful woman to his father's castle in Erin, where they both lived happily and well.

*Mananaun.*<sup>1</sup>—Pampogue, daughter of Mananaun, loved Kaytuch, who was slain; she took his body and sailed to an island, where every evening she saw two men carry by a dead man, and in the morning three live men returned. One of them explained to her: "When my father and mother were living, my father was a king, and when he died, there came Fawgawns and Blue-men on us, and banished us out of two islands; and we are on top of the third island with them, and as many of them as we kill are alive to fight us again in the morning; and every day they kill one of us, and we bring him to life again with the healing water." They healed Kaytuch.

Next morning he asked where the battlefield was, and the young men said: "If you were a good champion, you would have searched the place, and you would know in what place they give battle." Angrily he strode off alone. "He did not go far when he saw the blackness of the hill with people coming toward him." He slew all; and "stretched himself among the dead to see

<sup>1</sup> A variant of this tale, substituting something else for the part we are interested in, occurs in MacInnes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 376-83. A second variant in Campbell's *Pions*, pp. 225-32, has no balm and no battle.

who else was coming." An old man and an old woman approached, Slaughter and Hag of Slaughter. They "threw a dash" on the dead, who rose up like midges. Kaytuch slew the revived, then the old couple. Next came the tall, toothless, rusty Hag of the Church. He tried in several ways to kill her and failed; at the advice of a bird, he jumped on her shoulders and pulled her head off. Then he had to slay the Lamb of Luck, and the Cat of Hoorebrike. But the Cat slew Kaytuch too.

The three men (who were brothers) sought Kaytuch, and revived him with the healing water. He restored their realm, and departed to Erin.

#### *Fourth Group*

*Birth of Fin MacCumhail.*—[In general outline, but not in detail, Fin's early life here is similar to Perceval's life in the forest; cf. p. 4, n. 3, and chap. i, *supra*.] . . . Fin slew three giants. Then came their mother, a Hag who had a "vial of liquid with which she could bring the sons to life." The battle against the giants, one after the other, had been at night; at midnight the Hag arrived, and Fin, though greatly weakened from loss of blood, sprang up into the air, and swept the bottle from her grasp, which, falling to the ground, was emptied. Fin and the Hag had a fearful battle, but just as daylight was coming, he swept her head off. Then he cured his wounds with her blood (J. Curtin, *Myths*, etc., 204-20).

*Lawn Dyarrig* (a variant of *Red Sh*).—Lawn Dyarrig was the despised youngest of the King's three sons. The King's teeth were knocked out; and the three sons started off to avenge the insult, Lawn Dyarrig being mocked by his two brothers.

They came to a house, and a woman sheltered them over night, befriending Lawn Dyarrig (the hero), and giving him a sword and a magic horse. The hero took his brothers up behind him, the steed traveled marvelously, and when it stopped in the Eastern World, they alighted. The hero, following the woman's instructions, cut the sod from under the steed's foot, and the Terrible Valley was under them. The horse was loosed and sent home; and the brothers made ropes and a basket. Then, after each of the older brothers had descended a short way and been frightened back, the hero was let down through the hole.

Lawn Dyarrig slew seven hundred heroes guarding the country. Next he came to a spring, and lay down and slept. A lady learned through her maid of his presence, knew [by magic or prophecy] that it was Lawn Dyarrig, ran to him, kissed him, and took him to the castle of the Green Knight.

The Knight returned home and sent three hundred heroes to bring the heart of the hero to him. The hero slew them, and a second three hundred. Next three hundred savage hirelings were sent; but he took one by the ankles and slew all the rest with him, wearing him down to a pair of shin bones. He then went from his room to where the Knight was at dinner, took the dinner and

the lady for himself, and then took the lady to his room and spent the night. Next morning he and the Knight fought, and, following the lady's instructions, he won the battle. The hero and the lady spent a second night "very comfortably." Next morning they rose early and collected all the gold, utensils, and treasures. He found the three teeth of his father in a pocket of the Green Knight and took them. He and the lady carried all the riches to where the basket was. "If I send up this beautiful lady," thought he, "she may be taken from me by my brothers; if I remain below with her she may be taken from me by the people here."

He put her in the basket. She gave him a ring so that they might know each other if they met. He shook the gad [rope], and she rose in the basket. The brothers ran off with the lady; and on the way the oldest found the head of an old horse with teeth in it; he took them home and tried to put them in his father's head, but his father stopped him.

The hero went farther in the Valley, met and overcame Shortclothes, but was put under spells to go to the northeast point of the world to bring "the heart and liver of the serpent which is seven years asleep and seven years awake." He accomplished that adventure. Then he secured a horse that brought him to Erin just when his oldest brother was about to marry his lady. Lawn Dyarrig dropped his ring into a cup of wine, and the lady saw it and knew him. The King's teeth were replaced. The lady gave the queen a magic girdle which forced her to acknowledge that her two older sons were bastards and that Lawn Dyarrig was her only son by the King. Of course, Lawn Dyarrig then secured half the kingdom. And his two older brothers became his servants.

A reading of the foregoing summaries shows that while there is a considerable latitude of presentation, there is evidently much the same story at the basis of all the accounts. The first group contains the Insult (or equivalent), First Meeting with Relatives (or Young Men), the Hag Battle, Second Meeting with Relatives, and the Insulter's Death. The second group contains the Insult, the Insulter's Death (or punishment), the Hag (with or without a Battle), and the Meeting with Relatives. The third group contains the First Meeting with Relatives (or Three Young Men), the Hag Battle, and the Second Meeting with Relatives. And in the fourth group, the *Birth of Fin* presents only the Hag Battle; while *Lawn Dyarrig* carries the shell of the *Red Sh* tale, but omits the Meeting with Relatives (or Young Men) and the Battle, substituting other incidents for them that are not variants of them.

\* A serpent appears in *Pd*, 269, 277-78.

Since the two incidents of the Insult and the Insulter's Death appear in all five of our Perceval tales (*SP*, *C* and *G*, *W*, and *Pd*), it will not be necessary to stop here to consider whether they were integral parts of the original story that told of the hero's rescue of the Young Men from the persecution of the Hag or not. *Red Sh* reproduces pretty nearly what must have been the prototype of this portion of the Perceval tale.

The following paragraphs are an argument to show that the source of this part of *SP*, *C*, *W*, *Pd(a)*, *Pd(b)*, and *G* was a story in which appeared, besides some minor ones, five main incidents: the Insult, the First Meeting with Relatives, the Battle against the Hag's Host, the Second Meeting with Relatives, and the Insulter's Death. Material for the first and last incidents is not plentiful nor decisive as to shape; for the three others it is both abundant and decisive.

An incident in which a king is insulted is not of uncommon occurrence. Analyzed as it appears in the group of tales summarized above and in still other tales, it occurs in at least three types. And a slight alteration on the part of the narrator could change it from one type to another.

In the first type a magician (perhaps in the form of a knight, perhaps not) comes to court and insults the king, and a despised youth becomes the hero of the hour by overthrowing him. This form of insult appears in *Red Sh* and *Ransom*. It is possible that originally the magician just came, and it was left for the inquisitive minds of later ages of story-telling to inquire why he came. This type presumes a counter gift of magic: the hero is clearly stated to possess this in the Tent Lady's ring in *SP* (ll. 1857-64; 1894-96), the Empress' stone in *Pd(b)*, the stone of victory in *Red Sh* variant *d* (p. 491), in the solution of the magician's own riddle in *Red Sh* (p. 466), and in the advice of the eagle in *Red Sh* variant *a* (p. 485).

In the second type a person, a magician most likely, appears at court and dares the king or one of his courtiers to attempt some feat which, of course, can be achieved only by the hero, who is then acknowledged best of knights (or men). Again the hero probably possesses a counter gift of magic. *Sir Gawain and the*

*Green Knight* represents this type. It appears, too, in *Champion of the Red Belt*. A magician bespells the Champion's brother, and the spell can be removed only by the healing water, which, in turn, can be procured only by the hero. It appears, probably, too, in the incident in *Pd(b)*: the Black Man, bearing a goblet, enters the court of the Empress and requests her to hand the goblet only to him who is willing to fight the bearer. Since *Pd* is in many places rather a bundle of notes than an elaborated tale, it is not leaving certainties far behind to surmise that in the original state the Black Man bore a goblet from which only the destined hero could drink, say, without spilling the contents or without passing under a spell.<sup>2</sup> *Tyolet* and the *Beautiful Unknown* tales lean toward this type, though they substitute a lady's plea for aid in the place of the "insult." The death of the magician was not necessary, but it might occur.

In the third type a knight considers as his own certain lands now ruled by the king, and defies the king to test his claim by combat. This type, in a simple form, is found in the *Wedding of Sir Gawain* and the *Awntyrs of Arthur at the Tarn Waddling* (sts. 33 ff.).

*SP* and *Pd(a)* (or their sources) combined the second type with the first to form the incident in their accounts of the Red Knight: *C* (*W* following) adapted its incident to fit the third type, but retained remnants of the second. The incident used by all the four versions doubtless belonged, in its earlier form, to the first type, or to the first and second combined; and the result in *C* is due to the impulse to refine. When Crestien, or his source, pruned away from the Perceval plot the magical<sup>3</sup> elements (here as elsewhere), the insulting portion of the Red Knight's activities was left motiveless. Motivation and refinement were both secured by the substitution of the land claimant of the third type for the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. confirmatory similarities in the tests in *Fool* (the Gruagach's cup), *Le manteau mal taillé*, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, etc. In *C* and *W* it is the spilling of wine on the Queen that is especially distressing.

<sup>3</sup> Magic disappeared everywhere except in the Grail adventures. So completely has magic disappeared from the Perceval parts that it seems to me that there must have been conscious excision. In the Gawain plot (or subplot) of the later portion of the poem magic is still to be found. Cf. comment, p. 127, *infra*.



repugnant insulter of the first; and then any remnants of roughness were to be explained, as Wolfram's Red Knight does explain them, as "accidents." After planning for these changes and for an indirect narrative of the Knight's visit to court, Crestien (or his source) had still to provide an adequate explanation of Perceval's willingness to fight the Red Knight; so Perceval was made to see him before reaching court, and since he was one of the few knights Perceval had ever seen and was presumably the most beautifully dressed (and cf. here the comments and notes on p. 45, *supra*), the hero desired to possess his accouterments and was shortly afterward spurred on to a willingness to do battle for them. Possibly in the source a desire for the red armor was expressed; such almost happens in *Red Sh*.

The Relatives were met twice<sup>1</sup> in the early form of the story, but, for the sake of economy, both meetings may be commented on at the same time. The first meeting, or visit, occurred before the battle against the Hag's host, and the second after the Hag had been slain. Both appear in the fuller versions of the incident, such as *Red Sh* and *G*. In *SP* only one visit appears, but the account shows a confusion of the two visits of the completer versions: Perceval met his kinsmen after he had slain the Witch, but he went from them to fight a battle the account of which manifests contamination from that of the battle against the hosts of the Hag. The visit in *C*, *W*, *Pd(a)* is the second only.

The Relatives appear in several variant forms. Sometimes it is only an Uncle whom the hero assists against his foes, as in *Manus*; sometimes only Three Young Men who are not related to him, as in *Pd(b)*; frequently it is Three Young Men who are kin to him, as in *Red Sh*, though in *Red Sh* the hero's foster father also is mentioned; in *Conall* the Uncle appears, but the hero's father and two brothers are substituted for the Three Young Men. The form of the story that entered into the making of the Perceval tale pretty certainly had both the Uncle and the Three Young Men (the Uncle's sons). For the presence of the Uncle we have the

<sup>1</sup> There may, indeed, have been three meetings, the third being after the Insulter's death; such a third meeting occurs, e.g., in *Ransom*.

testimony of *SP*;<sup>1</sup> *Conall*, *Faolan*, *Manus*, *Red Sh* variant *d*, and the mention of the foster father in *Red Sh*; and in *Pd(a)* Perceval's Uncle appears.<sup>2</sup> The Relative visited by the hero in *C*, *W*, and *G* is said to be the Uncle of the heroine: in reality he is the same character—it is only the kinship that has been shifted; if this is not sufficiently proved by *SP*, *Pd(a)*, and especially *G*, still other evidence is offered by *W*, as will be seen when presently we take up the woman in the case.

The Three Young Men are a fairly stable factor, appearing in a large proportion of versions. (As a general thing, when an account has changed or omitted them, it has given the hero three antagonists—giants or monsters—as a sort of substitute.) Not to multiply examples, the Young Men appear clearest perhaps in *Red Sh*. *Pd(b)* has the Three, too. Most noticeable among the departures from the number three are the statements that there were four in *G* and *Faolan*, for which variation I have no explanation to offer; and that there were nine in *SP* and *Kil Arthur*, though the latter goes on to add eight more to the nine, always, however, keeping the seventeen separated into the two groups of nine and eight. But even *SP* offers a strong piece of evidence that the number was three: one of the points in the story is that when the hero offers to fight the battle for his Relatives, he must, because of a spell or for some such reason, fight unassisted; the spell is mentioned in *Red Sh*, and is implied in *Pd(b)*, *G*, *Mananaun*, etc.; now, in *SP*, when Perceval is leaving his Uncle's home, *three* of his nine cousins beg permission to accompany him, and start along, but very shortly they are sent back without any apparent reason whatever, and the battle that Perceval was going to, as will appear in chapter IV, was in part the battle against the Hag's host; the account of the spell on the Three Young Men has fallen out of *SP*, but its effect remains.

The Three Young Men do not appear in *C*. Gornemans is not said to have any sons at all, though his two pages are mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> The fact that *SP* makes the hero's mother sister to Arthur rose through the influence of this story in some way, I think. Cf. similarities in *Manus*, *Conall*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> In Williams' *Y Seint Greal* (*passim*, esp. pp. 276, 716) Perceval has an Uncle who is master of the black art and who is probably his enemy (cf. *Faolan*); he is called King of the Dead Castle; cf. Rhys, *Art. Leg.*, 118, 273 ff. The Huth *Merlin* makes this(?) character its Garlan, or Gallan, and in Malory he is Garlon in the Balyn story.

In *Pd(a)* his equivalent has two sons—an unusual disregard of the Welshman's conventional love of the number three. *W*, however, dwells on the fact that the Uncle (Gurnemanz) has had three sons, though none were living at the time of Parzival's visit; and one of these sons at least had lost his life, shortly before the visit of the hero, in the long contest that the hero was to bring to an end (the element of the revivifying Magic Balm had dropped out of *W* or its source). The shifting of the kinship, making Gornemans uncle of the heroine instead of uncle of the hero, that appears in *C* and *W*, is, I think, a paradoxical reflex of the influence of an early form of the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story: in the early form the hero left his Relatives and went to fight their battle; after the disappearance from *C* (or its source) of the Young Men and their battle (for the battle was essentially theirs, not the Uncle's), the next battle Perceval fought was in behalf of the heroine; the kinship then was shifted, and the hero went to fight the battle of the Uncle's niece instead of the Uncle's sons.<sup>1</sup> The shift was the more easily made, furthermore, because of the part played by women in this story.

Among the Relatives and assistants two Women appear; i.e., some versions, as *Pd(b)* and *Hookedy-Crookedy*, have two Women; some, as *Red Sh* and *Kil Arthur*, have only one. The first of the two is the Sister of the Young Men, and she appears in most versions. As Sister of the Young Men, she is, of course, in many cases foster sister to the hero. In the conclusion of the story she usually becomes the hero's wife; such is the case, e.g., in *Red Sh*, *Lawn Dyarrig*, *Hookedy-Crookedy*, *Dough*, and *Kil Arthur*. She is offered to the hero in marriage by the Three Young Men in *Pd(b)*, but is refused. *W* descends from a similar source; the Uncle, Gurnemanz (the Three Young Men, his sons, are dead), offers his daughter Liaze in marriage to Parzival, but she is refused. Wolfram, then, did not invent Liaze; she was an integral part of his source. The Second Lady had supernatural knowledge and magical possessions.

<sup>1</sup> In *C*, *W*, and *Pd(a)* the function of teacher is attributed to the Uncle. How to account for this addition I do not see. In *Pd* the real teachers are the Nine Sorceresses of Gloucester (has the nine here any connection with the nine of the nine cousins in *SP?*), and previous students have intimated that this incident in *Pd* may be due to the influence of the Cuchulain tale; the influence of the Cuchulain tale pretty certainly appears in one of the Witch-Uncle stories summarized above; cf. the age and fury of Fialan in *Fear Dubh*, pp. 58-59.

She appears in *Lawn Dyarrig*, *Hookedy-Crookedy*, and *Dough*, and best in *Pd(b)*, where she is called "Empress of Cristinobyl." She meets the hero before he goes to battle, recognizes him, knows all about his business, and gives him a magical gift without which he could not succeed in his adventures. Some versions seem to combine the two Women in one, in which case the Sister of the Young Men appears before the hero twice. In *Red Sh* the hero meets (only once) a beautiful woman soon after he enters the island; he takes her to the ship, and his treacherous companions make off with her; she gives him no gifts, but she is the sister of the Young Men, whom the hero meets shortly afterward; in variants of *Red Sh* the magical gifts appear. A similar first meeting occurs in *Ransom*, when the hero meets the lady with the dog; the magic seems here to reside in the dog. But *Lawn Dyarrig* is patently a variant of *Red Sh*; and in it the hero meets first a Lady who gives him magical gifts, and meets later the Sister (daughter of the preceding), a different person. I think *Pd(b)* is the only version in which the hero is said to marry the Second Lady, though in *Conall* his wife is perhaps her equivalent. When the hero first meets the woman in *Red Sh* (she is there the Sister of the Young Men and consequently foster sister to the hero), she is holding in her lap the head of a dead warrior.<sup>2</sup> An incident of this sort in the early form of the story is the source from which came the giermaine cosine of *C*, Sigune<sup>2</sup> of *W*, and the foster sister of *Pd(a)*. Perceval met the giermaine cosine immediately after he left the Grail castle and while he was still in supernatural territory (no one lived anywhere near), found her embracing the corpse of a knight, was recognized, almost or quite supernaturally, by her (cf. the recognition in, say, *Faolan*), and received from her information and prophecy concerning his affairs (cf. the information and prophecy of the Empress in *Pd* and the woman in *Lawn Dyarrig* and *Faolan*). In *W* Sigune

<sup>2</sup> In *Manannan* the heroine watches over the dead body of the hero until she secures the healing water to revive him; in *Conall* the hero lies down to sleep with his head in the heroine's lap and cannot be roused till the time of his "hero's sleep" is past; in *SP* the hero lies down to take a nap with his head in the lap of the Tent Lady, but her husband arrives before he falls asleep (*vide* chap. v). Something of this nature appears to have been a part of the story.

<sup>3</sup> Golther (*op. cit.*, 204-5) considered *SP*'s Tent Lady of the second meeting a combination of Sigune and Jeschute.

appeared to Parzival twice, first after his visit to the Tent and before he reached court, and secondly after the visit at the Grail castle; the first visit is probably not a mere intercalation of Wolfram's, but is an inheritance.<sup>1</sup>

Before the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story entered into the making of the Perceval tale, the hero's marriage with the heroine (Lufamour-Blancheflur-Condwiramur) had been established. He could not be granted two marriages; and so in *C*, *W*, and *G* the difficulty was solved by making the heroine the niece of the Uncle—she took over so much of the function of the Sister of the Young Men; and I think it highly probable that both *W* and *G* drew from *C* the idea of making the heroine the niece of Gornemans.

The Witch incident—with its battle against hosts, the excessively ugly appearance of the Hag, and its revivifying balm—appears as a pretty consistent factor, and retains its form rather more commonly than the incident of the Relatives; but even it occurs in variant shapes. The usual shape includes the battle against hosts (and the death of the Hag's son), the hero's sleep upon the battlefield, the midnight appearance of the Hag with her balm, and her death. The best versions of the incident in this type are in *Red Sh*, *G*, and *Ransom*. In general if the Hag had a son (or sons), he was probably thought of as a magician or a giant, as in *Birth of Fin*.<sup>2</sup> A variant of the incident was produced by the substitution of monsters for the Hag and her progeny. The incident in this type occurs in *Red Sh* variants and *Big Men*; sometimes there was just a single monster, as in *Fionn and Bran*. *Pd(b)*, with its "Addanc," belongs to this type. The evolution of variants is, I think, easily to be accounted for: if, e.g., the number of sons of the Hag or the number of battles was changed to three, the alteration sprang from the tale-teller's feeling for symmetry—he sought to balance this portion of the incident against the threefoldness of the Three Young Men. In *Hookedy* there is the threefold battle without the Hag or her sons;

<sup>1</sup> The significance of the meeting and also the apparent absence of both Women from this section of *SP* will be commented on in the Conclusion. Sigune's mother was made sister of Herzeloide to account for the kinship that had been set up long before.

<sup>2</sup> *G*, which has neither the Insult nor the son of the Hag, makes the Hag herself subject to a vague "King of the Waste City"; in *Pd(b)*, where several items appear inverted, the father of the Three Young Men is the "King of Torturea."

the enemy to be overthrown is an Insulter of the Land-Claimant type, leading three armies, one after the other. Usually the Magic Balm appears only as a possession of the Hag; in several versions it is duplicated, is a possession of the Hag and of the Three Young Men too, as in *Conall* (244), *Mananaun*, etc.; in *Pd(b)* it appears only in the keeping of the Three Young Men. In the more nearly complete form of the incident the Hag's son is not the Insulter. In *SP* the two persons have been combined; in *C*, *W*, *Pd(a)*, and *G*, indications are too slight to enable us to decide. The whole of the Witch incident is wanting in *C*, *W*, and *Pd(a)*; *SP* has a very emaciated form of it, touching the fuller versions at six points: (1) a Witch (2) has a son, (3) is able to revive the dead, (4) is enemy to the hero's friends (Relatives), (5) and is slain, (6) with her own son's spear; the battle against the Hag's host seems to have dropped out, yet it has not dropped so far but that we shall find some of it later. One other point: though the Hag's host (with its battle), her midnight advent, and her supernatural powers have all disappeared from *C*, her distressingly ugly personal appearance has remained as a heritage to the Grail Messenger (*C*, 5981 ff.) and to her counterparts in *W* and *Pd*. Wauchier, also, has a hideous hag (25380-410).

Death to the Insulter is the punishment for the Insult meted out in most of the tales, but not in all; in *Conall* he is merely "converted"—overthrown and added to the hero's retinue as a traveling companion. After telling of his death, most of the tales are silent as to the disposition made of his body; it is simply left lying where it has fallen; such is the case in *Red Sh*, *Pd(a)*, *W*, *C*, etc. But in *G*, which was intended to provide an end for the unfinished *C*, the Red Knight's corpse was placed in an ivory coffer (we are not told by whom), drawn on a barge by a swan back to the Knight's castle, and preserved there ten years by the Knight's four sons. Only the best of knights (the slayer) could open the casket, and the sons knew not its contents. Perceval, entertained at the castle, was bidden try to open the casket, and he succeeded; when the corpse was seen, the sons felt they must avenge the Knight's death; and an encounter by night and by day ensued (*Library*, 81 ff.). In *SP* and, apparently, in *C*'s source the Knight's body was thrown

on a fire and burned. In *SP*, moreover, the hero burns in the same fire the body of the Witch. The latter point Nutt thinks must have been in the sources; after quoting two verses from *G* (see p. 50, *supra*), he adds a footnote: "I cannot but think that these words have connection with the incident in the English Sir Perceval of the hero's throwing into the flames and thus destroying his Witch enemy." So far I have discovered nothing in the sources to warrant the connection of a burning of the body by the hero with the Witch incident; and so I am inclined to think the burning was borrowed from the Knight's fate. As to the source of *SP*'s point of the burning of the Knight's body, I have little to suggest. Possibly it arose, after the Perceval tale was put together, to account for the Witch's failure to use her Balm upon the body, beside whose ashes she had stood (see summary of *SP*). Perhaps there is some connection between it and such an incident as the burning of the giant's head in *Kil Arthur*, which looks like a garbled transformation scene; there is no transformation in *SP*; there are two of them in *Faolan*, but no burning.<sup>1</sup> After the Insulter has been slain, we are told in several tales that he is related to the hero's friends or to the hero himself; thus in *Red Sh* and *Ransom* he is foster brother or only brother to the father of the Three Young Men; uncle (or "foster uncle"), then, to the hero (cf. the bespelled Uncle in *Faolan*). Some such version as a source accounts for Wolfram's

<sup>1</sup> In this footnote I venture to summarize part of a tale which has few if any connections with the tales I have summarized above, but which has a burning incident just here:

*The Bare-stripping Hangman*.—[There are many incidents, among them several using a magic balm; at the end this—] Alastir, the hero, had now finished all he had to do. He therefore returned the way he came, taking with him the King's three daughters he had rescued. They reached the castle of the Great Giant of Ben Breck, and found the Giant stretched dead on the floor. Alastir seized the Giant's Great Sword, smote off his head and his feet as far as the knees, tied them up, and took them with him. . . . The King looked from his window, and saw Alastir coming with the three women, and the Giant's head and feet over his shoulder. . . . The King inquired what he was going to do with the head and feet. Alastir replied: "Before I eat food or take a drink, thou shalt see that." He gathered fuel, made a large, hot fire, and threw the head and feet into the midst of the flame. As soon as the hair of the head was singed and the skin of the feet burnt, the very handsomest young man they ever beheld sprang out of the fire. The King cried: "Oh, the son of my father and mother who was stolen in his childhood!" and he embraced him. . . . And all went into the castle. [The giant had stolen the King's three daughters. There is no explanation of the young man's enchantment, or of why he had stolen his nieces. But, perhaps, the explanation is not difficult to suggest.] (MacDougall, "Folk and Hero Tales of Argyllshire," *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, III, 76-112, esp. 110-11.)

exaltation of Ither, the Red Knight. Ither is nephew of Uther Pendragon, best of knights, and near kinsman to Parzival. With the friendship between Ither and Gahmuret, pointed out in chapter, I, cf. the friendship between the Insulter and the hero in *Conall*; that between Etlym, a very red knight, and Peredur in *Pd(b)*; and cf. the study of Gahmuret in chapter IV.

A brief recapitulation will throw some light on source and chronology.

*C*, not possessing them, cannot have been the source of the Three Young Men, the Witch, the Enmity between the Young Men and the Witch, nor the Magic Balm. Yet these are widely and closely associated with the Insulting (or Red) Knight and the Uncle.

*W* possesses more items, but not enough to have served as a source for the later(?) versions.

*G*, next in age, cannot have been the source, since it wants(?) the Witch's son and omits the incident of the Insult. Moreover, Gerbert did not invent either (a) the Magic Balm, for that appears in *Fierabras*<sup>1</sup> (ca. A.D. 1170); or (b) extremely ugly carlins; cf., for one, the Loathly Damsel of *C*, 5981 ff. He was left then only the combination of the two and the enmity between the Witch and Perceval's friend. *G* is now found in only two MSS, and appears never to have been very widely known. That *G* should have been the starting-place for the widely current Carlin and her balm, and that *SP*'s source drew upon *G* for the two matters and dislocated the *C* tale, in order to insert them, is not believable; and even if *G* could thus account for *SP*, still *Red Sh*, *Pd(b)*, *Conall*, and the other versions would be left unaccounted for.

Neither *Pd* nor *SP*, because of their date of composition and because of their paucity of material, can have been the source.

There never was, I believe, any single MS source, yet common source there was; for the interpretation of "common source" the reader is referred to the Conclusion, *infra*.

The Red Knight-Witch-Uncle "story" pretty certainly had a separate existence. The evidence of the tales summarized shows

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my note on the Balm in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, April, 1910.



that the incidents of this story were not attributed only to Perceval, that they were not associated with a hero of any one particular name, and that the story freely occurred without having prefixed to it those incidents that precede it in the Perceval tale. Some of the tales lead us to believe that the four incidents in the story, with a fifth, the hero's marriage, added, constituted much the larger part of the action, or plot; i.e., that with slight changes the story could, and did, stand by itself as an entity, as a "tale," examples being *Red Sh*, *Ransom*, etc.

And the story was taken up bodily and incorporated, with such filing and dovetailing as was necessary, into a frame-tale, the result being the Perceval tale. The dovetailing and the soldering at the joints are still discernible. In a general way, the frame-tale was this: a lad reared in a forest by his widowed mother heard of knightly life, went to court, and was given the adventure of rescuing a lady, whereby he won for himself a wife, a kingdom, and much fame. The incorporated tale or story ran thus: a youth despised at court went with others to avenge an insult to the king, was the only one to succeed, and restored the king's loss, having meantime passed through adventures by which he won a beautiful wife, fame, and honor at court. The frame-tale is represented approximately by *Fool* and *Card*; the incorporated story, though perhaps over-elaborately, by *Red Sh*. The modern folk-tales show how easy and common such an evolution was. Ample warrant for believing in such a process of incorporation lies in *Pd*; for *Pd(b)* is just the story (in a variant form and slightly amplified) inserted bodily and without attempt at dovetailing into *Pd(a)*, the frame-tale. Indeed, *Pd* is most remarkable. It is a repeater. In the first place, *Pd(a)*, like *SP*, *C*, and *W*, is the result of the incorporation of the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story into a frame-tale; and in the second place, *Pd(a)*, acting as a frame-tale, has reincorporated into itself the same story, *Pd(b)*, in a variant form. *SP* affords us a glimpse of the solder, indicating what incident of the enveloping tale perished from *C*, *W*, and *Pd(a)* after its service as a nexus for the incorporated story. The messenger who, in *SP*, finds Perceval at his Uncle's hall, does not appear in *C* (where logical connection between events has been rejected); and he is not more indispensable

in *SP* than in *C*. But the romance norm was for a messenger to come before the king to request aid;<sup>1</sup> the king then assigned the adventure to one of his knights. The frame-tale was doubtless of this type, and it was the appearance of this messenger before the king that gave way to the appearance of the knight who insulted Arthur. Again, at the end of the incorporated story the solder shows; in *SP* the hero instead of giving aid to his Cousins, who do not need it, goes to the aid of the Besieged Lady; his sending the Three Young Men back home is another piece; in *C* still another bit of solder appears in the transference of the Uncle's kinship from the hero to the heroine; in *W* we have the appearance of Liaze and the death of one of her three brothers (the Three Young Men) in defending the Besieged Lady.

The discussion of the Battle against the Hag's host is continued in the next chapter. And in the Conclusion we shall see what are the results if we deduct the incorporated portions from the Perceval tale and compare the remainder (the frame-tale) with tales of other heroes.

<sup>1</sup> The reader will easily recall examples: the Beautiful-Unknown group; Malory's "Gar-eth"; the Loathly Damsel in *C*, Cundrie in *W*; Manessier, 45183 ff.; Potvin, I, 185, etc. Cf., further, A. C. L. Brown, "The Knight of the Lion," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XX, p. 677, n. 1.

CHAPTER IV  
THE RELIEF OF THE BESIEGED LADY  
("THE SARACEN INFLUENCE")

FOURTEENTH INCIDENT: THE MESSENGER AT COURT

- I. *SP*, 1057-1124.
- II. *Pd*, 256.
- III. *C*, 3885-4087, 5376-5539; *W*, IV, 803-31, 1147-1287; *V*, 1503—VI, 38.

FIFTEENTH INCIDENT: THE FIRST BATTLE

A. *The Arrival at the Castle*

- I. *SP*, 1125-44.
- II. *C*, 2891-2926; *W*, IV, 1-106; *Pd*, 256.

B. *The Fighting*

- I. *SP*, 1145-1212.
- II. *Pd*, 258-59.
- III. *C*, 3330-3529; *W*, IV, 500-602.

SIXTEENTH INCIDENT: THE HERO ENTERS THE BESIEGED CASTLE

- I. *SP*, 1213-1340.
- II. *C*, 2927-3329; *W*, IV, 107-499; *Pd*, 256-58.

SEVENTEENTH INCIDENT: THE SECOND BATTLE

- I. *SP*, 1341-80.
- II. *Pd*, 259.
- III. *C*, 3530-3768; *W*, IV, 603-880.

[EIGHTEENTH INCIDENT: PERCEVAL AND GAWAIN ENCOUNTER

- I. *SP*, 1381-1524.
- II. *W*, XIII, 1525—XIV, 432.  
*C*, *Pd*, wanting.]

[NINETEENTH INCIDENT: KING ARTHUR ENTERTAINED IN THE LADY'S CASTLE

- I. *SP*, 1525-1608.  
*C*, *W*, *Pd*, wanting.]

TWENTIETH INCIDENT: THE THIRD BATTLE

- I. *SP*, 1609-1728.
- II. *Pd*, 259-60.
- III. *C*, 3769-3923; *W*, IV, 903-1092.

## [TWENTY-FIRST INCIDENT: THE HERO MARRIES THE RESCUED LADY]

- I. *SP*, 1729-72; *W*, IV, 610-719; XVI, 374 ff.; *G*, 182 f., 189 ff., 210.  
*C*, *Pd*, wanting.]

## TWENTY-SECOND INCIDENT: THE HERO LEAVES THE LADY

- I. *SP*, 1773-1816.  
 II. *C*, 4088-4162; *W*, IV, 1288-1338.  
 III. *Pd*, 261.

## THE SARACEN INFLUENCE

- SP*, 973-1816; *W*, I, 452-II, 79; *Conall*, 286-94; *Saudan Og*, 58-92;  
*Pd(b)*, 274, 278-81.

This chapter is devoted to the event of the relief of a maiden from the too-pressing suit of an unwelcome warrior. The hero frees her, and, according to two of the versions that contain the account, marries her; in the two other versions he either never marries or marries someone else.

The account of *SP* includes, nominally, nine incidents, but discussion of three of them will be postponed to the next chapter. *C* will be summarized and compared with *SP*, as usual. *W* and *Pd* do not manifest such variations from the account of *C* as to make it necessary to summarize them.

Even those scholars who think that *SP* is dependent mainly or largely on *C*, see that from this point forward the two accounts diverge more and more. The first thing this chapter presents is a statement of their similarities and their divergences. The second is a presentation (at the risk of some repetition) of evidence that this portion of the tale has suffered contamination from the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story. The third thing is a discussion of what I may term loosely the Saracen Influence, in which I set forth certain grounds for believing that there is consanguinity between this portion of *SP*, Book I of *W*, and the concluding parts of *Conall*.

The nine incidents of *SP* are as follows:

XIV. Perceval went from his Uncle's Hall to the relief of the Lady, and the messenger continued to the court to secure the aid of the King. Arthur first refused to go; but when the messenger mentioned Perceval, Arthur became interested, and, calling three of his best knights, set out to overtake the

hero. XV. Perceval made his way to the castle, and in the night came unexpectedly upon the night army of the besiegers, all of whom he slew before daylight, escaping himself unharmed. Then he lay down beside the castle (city?) wall and slept. XVI. Next morning the Lady found her enemies slain and saw Perceval lying asleep. She sent her chamberlain to invite Perceval into the castle. He went and was richly entertained. XVII. While all in the castle were dining, a second army (the day army) almost captured the city. Perceval armed himself, attacked them, and slew every one. XVIII. Glancing around, Perceval observed four knights approaching. He supposed them the Sowdane and his companions, and rode against them. They were really Arthur and his knights. It fell to Gawain's lot to encounter Perceval. After a short and sharp joust, the two recognized each other. XIX. The King and his three knights were then entertained in Lufamour's castle. XX. Next day the Sowdane came before the castle wall, offered defiance, and was encountered and slain by Perceval. XXI. The hero married the Lady and dwelt with her for a year. XXII. After that he departed to go in search of his Mother.<sup>1</sup>

The C account (2891-4162) goes thus:

¶ Perceval left the castle of Gornemans to go in search of his mother, and came, a distance thence, quite accidentally to a castle. A knock at the castle gate procured a night's lodging for him. ¶ After a melancholy supper he was shown to his bed, but at midnight he was roused by weeping and saw beside him the Lady of the castle, who had come to seek his advice. She was in distress because her castle was besieged by Clamadex, who sought to marry her. Her garrison could hold out only a day or two longer, weakened by fighting and

<sup>1</sup> The Lady is in *SP* Lufamour, whose father, "eme" (uncle), and brothers (989-91) have been slain by the Sowdane, leaving her the only survivor of the family; in *C* Blanchefur (3593), niece of Gornemans (3093), niece of other uncles, one of whom is "pious" (3103, etc.), and her father has been slain by Guigrenons (3452-56); in *W* Condwiramur(s) (cf. Bartsch's note to Book III, 1856, = "Coin de voire amors"), niece of Gurnemanz (daughter of his sister, IV, 315), and niece of two holy men (Kyot and Manpūljot, brothers of the Lady's father, Tampentiere, IV, 219 ff., 327 ff.); in *Pd* nameless, but her father had had the best earldom in the realm; in *G* niece of Gurnemans (Potvin, VI, 191). In *SP* (1339, 1560, etc.) and *W* (IV, 283) she is a queen. In *C* a brother (frère giermain) of Gornemans has been slain by Guigrenons (3468-85); in *W*, a son of Gurnemanz (Schentafūr, IV, 564-65).

The Besieger is in *SP* a Sowdane (= Sultan), Gollerothirame; in *C* Clamadius (King of the Isles) and Guigrenons (his seneschal); in *W* Clamide and Kingrun (his seneschal); in *Pd* an earl (son of an earl) and two of his household officers. *Perlesvaus* has a knight Clamados des Onbres, son of the Red Knight (not the Red Knight [?] of *SP*, *C*, etc.) slain by Perceval before he leaves the home forest (Potvin, I, 117 ff.).

In *C* the siege has lasted a winter and a summer (and now it is spring).

The castle besieged is in *SP* in Maiden Land (? = Castle of Maidens, Edinburgh, Scotland); in *C* Beaurepaire; in *W* Pelrepaire, in the kingdom of Brobarz (IV, 35-36); in *G* Belrepaire. Cf. a Castle of Maidens in *Wauchier* (26866-67); in *Fergus* (see also "Introduction," Martin's ed., p. xix.) In *Bel Inconnu* (5360), BI comes to the Castle of Maidens. Cf., also, the Castle of Maidens in Pierre de Langtoft (*Rerum Brit. Med. Aevi Scrip.*, I, 31); etc.

reduced to extremity by a rigorous famine. Perceval promised her aid, and comforted her. ¶ Next morning Perceval armed and rode to where Guingrenons<sup>1</sup> (seneschal of Clamadex) sat before his tent. After a battle in which the seneschal was hurt, he—the seneschal—was forced to beg for mercy; he pleaded, however, not to be sent to either Blancheflur or Gornemans, who would have him put to death because of the harm he had done them. He was sent to King Arthur. ¶ Clamadex rejoining his army was surprised to learn of the fate of Guingrenons. At the advice of an old knight, he stormed the castle with his army, but was repulsed. Then he decided to starve the garrison, but paroled prisoners soon told him the famine had been relieved by the arrival of a ship loaded with provisions. ¶ Clamadex sent to the castle to challenge any champion to single combat. Perceval rode against him, and after a great struggle forced him to promise, as the seneschal had done, to free his prisoners, to go with a message to Arthur's court, and to cease annoying Blancheflur. ¶ Perceval tarried with Blancheflur for a short while. ¶ Then remembering his mother, he set off to find her, promising to return to Blancheflur whether he found his mother alive or dead. . . . ¶ [After several intervening incidents have been recounted] the arrival and stories of the knights Perceval has overthrown (Guingrenons, Clamadex, and Orguellous<sup>2</sup>) arouse Arthur to a determination to go to seek Perceval (cf. ll. 5376–5539).

Of the nine incidents of *SP*, six, more or less the same, appear in *C*. These two versions and *W* and *Pd* are held together by two fundamental agreements: the Lady to be rescued is besieged by human beings who make no use of magic (in *C*, *W*, and *Pd* they are knights of the normal sort, and in *SP*, though Saracens, they are but slightly removed from such); and the rescue is secured by three battles.

But even though in general outline *SP* and *C* show agreements, they also show marked differences in both substance and sequence of events. Four of the most noticeable differences may be pointed out. They are first stated here in a group, and later discussed separately. (1) Three of the nine incidents do not occur in *C* at all—the battle with Gawain, the entertainment of the King, and the marriage to the Besieged Lady. *Pd* likewise lacks these three incidents; *W* has the marriage, and at a much later place in the tale the joust with Gawain, but not the entertainment of the King. (2) In *SP* Arthur is roused to a determination to seek Perce-

<sup>1</sup> The spelling of proper names varies in *C*. I have not attempted to make it uniform.

<sup>2</sup> Orguellous is the Tent Lord, whose story comes later; cf. chap. v.

val by the coming of Lufamour's messenger; in *C* (and *W*) he sets out to seek the hero only after the arrival of the Besiegers, whom Perceval has conquered and sent to court with messages. (3) *SP* and *C* differ in the time (of day) and the nature of the first battle. (4) The nature of the Besieger and his followers is different in the two accounts.

1. Of the three incidents not occurring in *C* two are reserved for discussion in chapter V, *infra*, because they appear to be parts of a story taken up there. The marriage between hero and heroine shows only the more clearly what we have observed many times already: the affinity between *SP* and *W*. In (the unfinished) *C* Perceval does not marry the Besieged Lady; in *SP*, *W*, and *G* he does. Concerning the offspring of the marriage *SP* is silent; but *W* and *G* show agreements so substantial as to prove them taken the one from the other or both from a common and almost immediate source.

2. The suggestion has been made by some students that *SP*'s messenger<sup>1</sup> is a reminiscence of the knights Perceval overthrows—in other versions—and sends to Arthur. The first knights so to be treated in *C* are the Besiegers; and it is because of their reports of the hero's valorous deeds that the King wishes to add Perceval to his household. The incident there is well motivated. But in *SP* the motivation is bad enough to arouse suspicion; for Gawain has reported Perceval's overthrow of the Red Knight, and the messenger has no new evidence of the hero's prowess; yet King Arthur leaves a sick-bed to go in search of him. The messenger in *SP* is doubtless, as I have already stated, preserved from the form of the tale as it was before the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story

<sup>1</sup> In *SP* the King is at Bath when Lufamour's messenger arrives seeking his aid, which Arthur, being sick, refuses; the messenger speaks of a knight, and when upon inquiry Arthur learns that Perceval has started to the relief of the Lady, he rises, takes three knights with him, and rides after Perceval. In *C*, after Perceval has relieved the Besieged Lady and reinstated the Tent Lady (4865-5372, a later incident; cf. *infra*), the knights he has overthrown come to court, at Carlion, with Perceval's messages; upon the arrival of the third (Li Orguellous, the Tent Lord), Arthur is roused to seek Perceval. In *W* the account is much the same. In *Pd* the hero overthrows eighteen knights before he comes near the Besieged Castle, and sends them to court, whereupon Arthur determines to search all the island for him.

Carebedd (*SP*, 1062) = Caer Badon, the City of Baths; cf. for one reference, Trevisa's Higden, *Polychronicon* (Lond., Longmans Green & Co., 1869), p. 55, "Caerbadown, þat is, Bape. . . ."

was incorporated. When the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story was inserted, the appearance of the Red Knight replaced the arrival of the messenger. In the Grail group the Lady's messenger disappeared altogether. This explanation leaves a seeming difficulty: in the earlier form of the tale how did the King learn of the hero's whereabouts? But the difficulty is only a seeming one: in *C* the news the King hears is that Perceval has succeeded in his adventure; and if we turn to *Card*, we find that Carduino sent a messenger to court to announce his success in freeing the enchanted lady,<sup>1</sup> and that in consequence Arthur sent an embassy to him. In *SP*, as stated above, the motivation is bad; and the reason is that *SP*'s messenger is in part a relic of the second messenger, who announced success. In the earlier form of the tale doubtless the Besiegers were all destroyed, as in *SP* and *Card*, and there were two messengers. Under the refining hand of Crestien or his predecessor, the Besiegers were made into fine knights, were preserved alive, and were substituted for the messenger of victory as envoys to court. Thus, instead of *SP*'s messenger being a reminiscence of the conquered knights of *C*, the latter are a reminiscence of a messenger whose existence is but dimly hinted at in *SP*. The disappearance of the second messenger from *SP*, or the more probable coalescence of the two messengers, is due to the incorporation into the tale of another story, which is to be considered in the next chapter.

3. In *C*, after Perceval has approached the Besieged Castle and spent a night there without having seen a besieger, he goes out in the morning after breakfast time, and does battle against Guigrenons; and the two knights observe all the conventions of chivalry: in *SP* the hero, approaching the castle for the first time, rides at dusk unsuspectingly into the midst of the camp of the night army<sup>2</sup> of the besiegers, is challenged, lays about him with more than

<sup>1</sup> The statement in *Card* (second canto, lxvi-lxviii) is not made distinctly, but the implication is indubitable.

<sup>2</sup> The Sowdane's army consists of twenty score men, eleven score to guard by night and ten score (*pace* the arithmetician) by day; at present the Sowdane is away hunting (*SP*, 1133-38). Crestien (3505-7, 3604-14) intimates—though none too clearly—that the besiegers are in two armies. *W*, like *SP*, announces plainly that the besieging army is in two divisions (IV, 731-36, 764-65). The whereabouts of *SP*'s day army are not stated; it vanishes. The phenomenon is perhaps due to the influence of the magic army of the other story, which, slain by day, was revived by night and ready for battle next day.



knightly vigor, slays eleven score men, and lies down to sleep till daylight. The details are so different that, except in the broadest outline, the two accounts are not comparable. Neither is drawn from the other. The source of *SP*'s account, however, is easy to see.<sup>1</sup> We have here contamination from the story of the preceding chapter. It will be recalled that in the more nearly complete form of the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story the hero, after he has been entertained by his Relatives and heard the story of their long-drawn-out battle, goes out alone to battle against their enemies (forty in *G*, over a hundred in *Red Sh*, hosts in other tales), slays them all, lies down by night to sleep on the battlefield, in the middle of the night is roused by the Crone, whom he slays, and later is found by his Relatives, who lead him to their home (hall, castle, or city). Now compare the details in *SP*. In the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle portion of the English tale, the hero meets and slays the Witch in the daytime (the previous night's history is a mystery) before he meets the Uncle, and in that portion *SP* presents no battle against a host. Next he visits the home of the Uncle and the Young Men, learns of a long-drawn-out contest (Lufamour's, told by her messenger—a substitute for the Relatives', told by themselves), sets off to assist, comes upon a host whom he slays in the night time, lies down on the battlefield, and is later found by Hatlayne,<sup>2</sup> who leads him into the Lady's castle. *SP*, then, shows clearly the contamination<sup>3</sup> of one story with the other: but *C* is, I believe, not without faint traces of it, very faint, yet sufficient to warrant us in

<sup>1</sup> Various romances of the Arthur and of the Charlemagne cycles describe battles slightly like that of *SP*. Guy of Warwick's deeds against the Saracens are as wonderful. The Great Fool, in O'Daly's version, overthrows seven score guardians of a fair lady, and takes the lady away. An account approaching still nearer is that of the titular hero's battle at night against great numbers in *Sir Degrevant* (1553 ff., *Thornton Romances*). Sowdanes and giants occur plentifully in the Charlemagne cycle. But I have found in these tales no incidents especially like those in *SP*.

<sup>2</sup> With Hatlayne (*SP*, 1261-64) cf. the Chastelayne of *Morte Arthure* (*E.E.T.S.*, No. 8, reprint, 1871), ll. 2952, 3028, and Branscheid's note in *Anglia*, VIII, *Anzeiger*, 215, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The contamination mentioned here does not indicate that *SP*'s ancestor came twice into contact with the early form of the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story. If any early form of the Perceval tale contained sufficient material to supply both *G* and the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle portion of *SP*, it contained an abundance for this battle. And the confusion that we perceive in the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle portion of *SP* already is decreased rather than increased by this fragment of it we find in another place.

thinking that *SP* and *C* drew this portion of themselves from a common parentage. The kinship has been transferred: Gornemans is uncle to Blancheflur; and Guigrenons, explaining his refusal (when Perceval has conquered him) to go as prisoner to Gornemans, says he was at the death of Blancheflur's father and was the slayer of one of Gornemans' brothers ("frères giermains") in this war (3452-85). One is compelled to wonder if the "frères giermains" was not really a remnant from the "foster brothers" of the hero in the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story. In *C* Gornemans is not (?) said to have had sons, but in *W* he has had three, and Kingrun acknowledges himself slayer of one of them (IV, 564-65, 1046-52). The long duration of the contest waged by the foster brothers (*G* and *Red Sh*) had a *raison d'être*; the lengthiness of the siege of Blancheflur may be a coincidence, but it is more likely that it is a reminiscence of the long-drawn-out combat of the Relatives. Unfortunately, however, the two forces that evidently were at work in *C* (or its source)—the excision of magic and the refinement of rudeness—have left little testimony as to source; the incident has been conventionalized.

The accounts of the second and third battles in *SP* and *C* are rather more comparable than those of the first battle, but here *SP* stands closer to *W* than to *C*.

4. The fourth difference between *SP* and *C* leads to a discussion of the "Saracen influence." In *SP* the Besiegers are under a single leader, the Sowdane (Sultan) Gollerothirame;<sup>1</sup> and his followers are Saracens, arranged in two divisions, one to guard by day, the other by night. In *C* there are two leaders, Clamadex and his seneschal, Guigrenons; and their followers are ordinary men of the country, who may be divided into two armies. (Crestien's statement is not very clear; in *W* there is certainly the two-fold division.) Although Clamadex is nominally the leader, Guigrenons seems to be the one who has played the important rôle in the past and merely-hinted-at events. In *Pd* the Welsh convention has developed three leaders, and the relief of the Lady has become a three days' tournament.

<sup>1</sup> Though not mentioned here, Gollerothirame's brother, a heathen giant, occurs later in *SP*. See chap. v, *infra*. Whether the one-leader type of *SP* or the two-leader type of *C* is the older I see no way of telling.

The "Saracen influence" must rely, for the proof of its existence, upon portions of four tales—*SP*, *W*, *Conall*, *Saudan Og*—and a few allusions in others. The material may first be summarized.

*SP*.—¶ In Maiden Land (= Scotland) lived Lufamour, mistress of a city which was being besieged by Gollerothirame, a Saracen sowdane, who wished to marry her. The besieging army was divided, half being on guard by night, half by day. The Sowdane was just now absent. ¶ Perceval arrived before the Saracen army at night. He rode into their midst and fought until he had slain every foe. Then he lay down to sleep beside the city (castle) wall. ¶ Early in the morning he was perceived by Lufamour, who sent her chamberlain to invite him to enter the court. He entered and was richly entertained by Lufamour, who promised to marry him if he would slay the Sowdane. ¶ Later, the day army attacked town and castle. Perceval had eaten but little, but assisted by Lufamour, he armed himself, called for his steed, went out to battle, and by noon had slain all his enemies. ¶ After that he and Gawain fought till they recognized each other. The two were kin, either nephew and uncle or sons of sisters. ¶ Perceval conducted Arthur and his company to the castle, and all were entertained by Lufamour. ¶ Next morning Gollerothirame cried a challenge before the castle. Perceval met him and slew him. ¶ The hero returned to the castle, and he and Lufamour were married. He dwelt with her a year, and then left to go seek his mother in his earlier home.

*W*.—¶ In the land of the Moors lived Queen Belakane, in the city of Patelamunt, which was being besieged by Friedebrand, Prince of Scotland, to avenge the death of his cousin Eisenhart, who had been the lover of Belakane but had been accidentally slain in a joust with one of Belakane's princes, neither recognizing the other. The besiegers were divided, one part being the Scotch army accompanied by certain Frenchmen, the other the army of Moors. ¶ Gahmuret, seeking adventures, landed in the harbor below Belakane's palace. He entered the town and was richly provided for. The Queen invited him to her castle, and when he appeared in state, requested his aid. The situation was explained to him, and he promised his help. The Burggrave explained that Heuteger came daily before the city wall to challenge any one of the besieged to joust with him. That evening at supper time the Queen and her maidens came to Gahmuret's lodging and served him. ¶ After a night of restlessness (because of desire to fight and love for Belakane) Gahmuret armed and rode out before the city. Heuteger approached. The Queen watched the conflict from her window.<sup>1</sup> Heuteger was unhorsed, wounded, and forced to surrender. ¶ Shortly afterward Gaschier was overthrown in like manner, and sent to bid the Scotch army cease its attack. ¶ Kaillet, a relative of Gahmuret, was forced by Gaschier to refrain from any joust against Gahmuret. ¶ On a fresh steed Gahmuret went before the Moorish army, overthrew its com-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the similar statement in *SP*, 1399-1400; the item, however, is a commonplace.

mander Rassalig, and compelled him to stop the advance of the Moorish army. By night he had overthrown twenty-four knights. ¶ Gahmuret, re-entering the town, was conducted by the Queen to the palace, and the two embraced. Soon they were married. Shortly before the time for the birth of a son, Gahmuret left his wife to return to his earlier home. . . . ¶ The hero came before Kanvoleis, and there erected the tent he had brought from the East. It had belonged to Isenhardt, and was very splendid [and possessed magic qualities (?)].

*Conall.*—¶ The King of Iubhar was being attacked by the Turks, whose leader was the "Big Turk." The king had for allies the king of Eirinn (who had married his sister) and his two older sons. The youngest son, Conall, had been left in Eirinn. ¶ When a time had passed and Conall had heard nothing of his father, he determined to go and seek him. He was accompanied by his minstrel and by two champions, of whom one was the king of Scotland, the other Garna Sgiathlais, king of Spain. ¶ When they reached Iubhar, the fighting<sup>2</sup> was going on. Conall and Duanach (his minstrel—the champions have disappeared for the time being) went to the hostelry; after eating supper they went to bed. ¶ Next morning they were aroused by the sound of battle. Conall went out and fought, mowing down Turks like thistles. A Big Turk slew the men of Iubhar in like manner. Conall and the Big Turk met, and Conall slew him. The living Turks fled, and the men of Iubhar slew all they could overtake. ¶ Conall and Duanach returned to their hostelry, ate, and went to bed, thinking the war ended by the slaughter of the Turks. ¶ Next morning, however, the battle had to be fought over. Again Conall slew the Big Turk, and the other Turks fled. ¶ That night the king of Iubhar, having decided that Conall must be his sister's son (how he knew is not told), went to his hostelry to inquire about him. Conall was asleep, Duanach refused to wake him, and so the king left a message: "Tell Conall . . . that his mother's brother came to visit him, and that he wishes to see him at the house of the king of Iubhar tomorrow." [¶ The third day's battle has been summarized in chap. iii, p. 53.] ¶ The king of Eirinn took Conall before the king of Iubhar. . . . No less would suffice the brother of Conall's mother than that Conall should be crowned king of the realm of Iubhar. The nobles of the realm were gathered, a great feast was made, and Conall was crowned king over the Iubhair; but he did not stay in that realm. With his father and his friends he returned to the island where he had left his love (Breast of Light), took her aboard ship, and returned to Eirinn, his earlier home.

*Saudan Og and Young Conal* (a variant of *Conall*).—¶ Ri na Durkach (the King of the Turks) lived long in Erin, where he had one son, Saudan Og. When twenty years old, Saudan Og went to Spain to marry the daughter of

<sup>2</sup> This battle was of no service to Conall in winning his wife. He won her (much earlier) by a single-handed combat against hundreds of warriors who guarded her tower. She was connected closely with Beinn Eideinn, or Edinburgh apparently. Campbell (III, 216, note) considers the geography hopelessly mixed.

the King of Spain, with or against the consent of that king. ¶ The latter sent messengers to Ri Fohin, Ri Laian, and Conal Gulban to ask their aid, and the three kings sailed from Eirinn to Spain. When leaving, Gulban took his two older sons with him, and left the youngest (named Conal, like his father) to guard the kingdom. ¶ At the end of a year and a day, young Conal set off to seek a wife. He came to the Yellow King's castle and slew all the fighting men and then the Yellow King himself. He entered the castle by springing through an upper window, and there was cured of his wounds by the Yellow King's daughter, who bathed him in the water from a magic well that was in the castle. The daughter went with Conal; they came to the foot of a wild mountain (Beann Edain), and Conal had to sleep. He lay with his head in the lady's lap for three days and two nights. Then came the High King of the World and took the lady away, but not before she had written a letter explaining all to Conal. Four days later Conal had finished his "hero's sleep," roused, and set off to recover his bride. ¶ He acquired for Traveling Companions Donach the Druid, two (out of three) brothers, and their sister; then another, the Short Dun Champion, who was one of another set of three brothers. ¶ Conal and his companions found the castle of the High King of the World, recovered the bride, slew the High King, and started back home. ¶ "On their way, where should they sail but along the coast of Spain?" They saw three castles and a herd of cattle grazing near them. ¶ One after the other, the two brothers went to ask why the castles were built near together; and the herdsman by magic turned them to stone. Next Conal went, and his strength was greater than the herdsman's magic; Conal overpowered him, and forced him to tell his story. ¶ The herdsman recognized Conal, explained that he and Conal were brothers, restored the two bewitched Companions from stone to life, and told his story: "Saudan Og arrived in Spain the day before we did, and he had one-third of the kingdom taken before us. We went against him the following day, and kept him inside that third, and we have neither gained nor lost since. The King of Spain had a castle here: my father and the King of Leinster built a second castle near that; Saudan Og built the third near the two, for himself and his men, and that is why the castles are here. We are ever since in battle; Saudan has one-third, and we the rest of Spain." ¶ Conal slew the Saudan the next day, and all his forces. ¶ He provided wives for his brothers and Companions, and all returned to Erin. End.

(The last of the tale is greatly condensed. The Hag and her Balsam are absent, and the battle is abbreviated into nothingness. But the "Saracen Influence" is much in evidence. And note how the hero has, in a sense, given his own name to his father, just as happened in *SP*.) J. Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, 58-92.

A portion of *Pd(b)*, though, in its present shape at least, it does not belong with this group, has threads of connection with these tales; a summary may be placed here for reference.

¶ Peredur left the home of the Three Young Men to go to fight their battle against the Addanc. ¶ On the way he found a beautiful Lady seated on a mound, who knew his purpose and gave him a stone of victory that enabled him to win his contest. She made him promise to seek her afterward, "seek towards India"; and then she vanished. ¶ After a set of adventures, Peredur came to the valley of a river, and found there a vast multitude of tents. He lodged with a miller and learned from him that "the Empress of Cristinobyl the Great" was holding tournament to select the most valiant of men for her husband. He spent that night with the miller, and the next day went out to behold the tournament (and the Empress), but did no fighting. He did the same the second and the third day. ¶ On the fourth day he entered the tournament; he fought (several days?) till he overthrew all. ¶ The Empress sent to him and asked him to visit her. Three embassies he refused. A wise man sought him and prevailed upon him to go. Two days he visited her in her tent. ¶ On the second day, while he and she were discoursing courteously, a Black Man entered, bearing a goblet full of wine, which he gave to the Empress with the request that she give it to no man who would not fight with him for it. Peredur asked for it, and drank the wine. ¶ A second and larger Black Man soon repeated the scene. ¶ Shortly afterward "a rough-looking, crisp-haired man, taller than either of the others," came with a bowl of wine, and the scene was repeated. ¶ That night Peredur returned to his lodging; next morning he went to a meadow, and slew all three men. ¶ "And Peredur was entertained by the empress fourteen years, as the story relates."

Before pointing out the grounds for a belief in a common ancestry of some sort for these accounts, I may mention two barriers in the way of an argument: the materials (only four tales, and one of them a variant of another) are too scanty to furnish evidence upon which we may rely with certainty; and the account in each of the four tales has been subjected to the influence of other stories in such a way as to distort it. The Crusading influence upon Wolfram's tale has been insisted on time and again. SP's account of the relief of the Besieged Lady has certainly been contaminated with the battle in the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story—or perhaps it will be clearer to say that the latter battle was altered when it was incorporated into the account of the siege. And the *Conall* battle suffered in the process of its incorporation into a long frame-tale. The divergences are apparent, and yet it is highly probable that the four accounts revert to the same source.

A table will not help us, and so a short recapitulation may be substituted.

In *SP* the hero frees Lufamour, the Scotch Lady, in Scotland (Maydene Land), besieged by Saracens. In *Conall* the hero captures Breast of Light, the Lady of Beinn Eideinn (Edinburgh?), from her tower strongly guarded; then he goes, accompanied by the kings of Scotland and Spain, to the realm of Iubhar to free his relatives<sup>1</sup> (his father, his two brothers, and his uncle, the King of Iubhar) from the Turks. In *W* the hero's father frees Belakane, the Moorish Lady, in Moorish (Saracen) land, besieged by Moors and the Scotch under Friedebrand, Prince of Scotland, accompanied by certain Spaniards and Frenchmen, one of whom, at any rate, is kin to the rescuer. In *Saudan Og* the hero . . . goes to Spain, accompanied by Traveling Companions, and there slays Saudan Og, the Young Sultan, son of the King of the Turks.

In *SP* the adventure is assigned to the hero alone; in *Conall*, jointly, in a way, to the hero (accompanied by the kings of Scotland and Spain) and his father, though earlier in the tale we have been told that the father visited this same country and found there his wife, the hero's mother; in *W* it is assigned wholly to the father, and the offspring of the marriage is half-brother to the hero.<sup>2</sup> *W* presents an odd switching around of parts: the Lady is the Saracen, the French and Spanish Traveling Companions have been transferred from the hero to his enemies, and one of his enemies is his kinsman.

In *SP*, *W*, *Conall*, and *Pd(b)* the hero goes from the home of his relatives to engage in this battle: from the home of Uncle and Cousins in *SP*; of his only brother, King Galoes (to find a relative among his enemies), in *W*; of his Uncle in *Conall*; of the Three Young Men (= foster brothers) at the instruction of the Empress in *Pd(b)*.

In each case the battle is in three parts or fought on three days.

The similarity is evident. That the accounts are related seems indubitable. And the common source can perhaps be suggested with a fair degree of certainty. There are several items to be fol-

<sup>1</sup> The kinship here is, in part, a contamination from the kinship in the *Relatives-Hag* story.

<sup>2</sup> So far as I can see, the legends of *Feirefiz* and *Morien* developed or were incorporated after the time when the ancestor of *W* branched off from the parent stock.

lowed as clues: Saracen, Moor, Turk; Scotland; Scotch, French, Spanish kings as Traveling Companions (in *W* they are shifted to the enemy's camp); three battles, etc.

The common source was a form of the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story that had been subjected to the "Saracen Influence." The only things of a "Saracen" nature that exerted any "influence," I think, were a few proper names—not either incidents or events drawn from an experience with Eastern life. To show that these names were present, that they were merely substitutes for vaguer names, and how they came to be introduced, is the purpose of the next two paragraphs.

In Gaelic tales (both Scotch and Irish) one of the common designations for the realm of magic and monsters, the land where things happen, is "The Eastern World"; and a personage of mystery and power is King or Prince of the Eastern World. When this country was localized, it became, depending on the geographical knowledge of the tale-teller, Scotland, Lochlann, Alba, Spain,<sup>1</sup> etc. In reaching it, be it which country it might, the hero traveled through other lands, and these in turn acquired—as substitutes for their earlier vaguer and more mysterious names, like Lonesome Island, Golden Mines, D'yerree-in-Dowan, or what-not—such geographical names as France, Greece; and the foes the hero had to overcome became Lochlanners (the Norse),<sup>2</sup> Sassenach (the Saxons), and such. The process of such a change of names was helped and hastened when the nations mingled in the borderlands of England and Scotland,<sup>3</sup> say from A.D. 1066 on. To the Englishman or Frenchman, who had heard of the Saracens in the East, the expression "Eastern World"

<sup>1</sup> Even Prussia occurs in "The Son of the King of Prussia," a tale in which the hero's battle for the Three Young Men against the Hag's host appears in an obscured and brief way; *vide* Larminie, *W.I.F.T.*, 153 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the meaning of Lochlann, see an article by A. Bugge, "Contributions to the History of the Norsemen in Ireland, I," in *Skifter udgivet af videnskabselskabet i Christiania* (1900), No. 4. The tellers of the folk-tales, however, do not appear to have attached any very definite meaning to "Lochlann"; it is used quite as vaguely as Greece and Spain.

The source of "Gollerothirame," the name of the Sowdane in *SP*, has never been pointed out. Is it possible that it is, say, an Englishman's misrendering of the phrase "Gille Righ Lochlann"?

<sup>3</sup> I do not mean to intimate that the use of "Saracen" in this fashion occurred only in this territory. A disposition to use it so is noticeable early and was widespread. Heathen Normans appear in mediaeval literature as "Saracens." For what is apparently a late substitution, cf. the "Souden Turk" of the ballad "Outlaw Murray" and the notes in Child's *Eng. and Scot. Pop. Ballads*, V, 185 ff., esp. var. C, l. 22.



would inevitably suggest the Saracens: when the Gaels learned of the Frenchman's and the Englishman's "East," his own expression acquired a new connotation for him. If a Gael substituted his hereditary enemy, the Saxon, for his hero's more mysterious enemy, any confusion that would arise—through a Frenchman's or an Englishman's mishearing or misinterpretation—between SAXON (*Sassun* in Gaelic, *Saïsson* in French) and SARACEN<sup>1</sup> would hasten the change.

Subsidiary evidence pointing likewise to such an evolution in nomenclature is to be had outside of our four tales. In *PC*, Perceval's mother announces her intention to retire into Scotland, a connection with Scotland being thus established with a Perceval tale that has some intimate resemblances to the earlier parts of *SP* and *W*. The story of a "Saxon" battle is several times referred to in the mazes of the *Prose Tristan*.<sup>2</sup> The tent of the Scotch Eisenhart, which Gahmuret brings from Belakane's land (*W*, I, 795-98; II, 73 ff.), is to be compared with the tent that Palamedes "the Saracen" (out of Saxon?) receives from the Scotch Queen (*Prose Tristan*, p. 102, §128).<sup>3</sup>

Because of the cleavage it introduces into the group of associated

<sup>1</sup> None of my readers will make the mistake, which sometimes has been made, of supposing that because these tales use the word Saracen, therefore they must have originated after the tale-tellers learned the use of that word. Dr. Douglass Hyde expressed the opinion (*Beside the Fire*, p. xxxii) that *Conall* was invented after the fall of Constantinople, arguing from the names and allusions; but Mr. Alfred Nutt (*ibid.*, p. lii) sufficiently refuted the assumption.

Robert Hunt wrote: "The term Saracen is always now supposed to apply to the Moors. This is not exactly correct. Percy, for example, in his 'Essay on the Ancient Minstrels,' says, 'The old metrical romance of "Horn Child," which, although from the mention of Saracens, etc., it must have been written, at least, after the First Crusade, in 1096, yet from its Anglo-Saxon language or idiom, can scarcely be dated later than within a century of the Conquest.' . . . It would not be a difficult task to show that the word Saracen, as used in Cornwall,—'Atal Saracen!' 'Oh, he's a Saracen,' etc., was applied to the foreigners who traded with this country for tin—at a very early period."—*Popular Romances of the West of England*, sec. ser., Lond. (1865), p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., the knights of Orcanie (Orkney) take part in the war of the Saxons against Winchester. Cf. Løseth's Index, "Orcanie"; cf., also, the "Castle des Saracens," which appears to be in Britain. And cf. Malory, Book X, chap. xxxii: . . . "Saracens landed in the country of Cornwall, soon after these Sessoins were gone." North-of-England connections exist in *W*'s "Ither of Kukumerlant" (if this equals Cumberland) and in *Meriaduec*'s "Gernemant [cf. C's Gornemant] of Norhombellande."

<sup>3</sup> Rhys's equation may not assist—it does not antagonize—my evidence: Palomedes = Pabo Prydein, Pabo of Pictland; and Pellinor = Eliver. "The tradition is that Pabo was a king who became a saint, and this answers to Malory's story, that Palomydes was a Saracen who was

tales, this "Saracen Influence" leaves us with a pretty problem. Among the Scotch and Irish tales there are some that do not show the Saracen influence; e.g., the place of combat is in *Red Sh* and *Ransom* an island girt with fire, in *Manus* and *Big Men* the Land of Big Men, in *Lawn Dyarrig* the Eastern World; and the enemies are supernatural but not Saracen. Some tales are in a middle position; as *Champion*, in which the battle occurs in a land beyond Greece, but the enemies are not Saracens. Other tales manifest the influence unmistakably; in *Saudan Og* the land is Spain, and the enemy the Young Sultan; in *Conall* the locality is vague (Iubhar, Turkey in a variant) but the enemies are Saracens (really, Turks). The problem lies in the fact that the same cleavage appears in the Perceval tales. *C* and *G* never suffered, or else wholly cast off, any Saracen influence; *SP*, *W*, and *Pd(b)* show its effects. The problem is: Was the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story subjected to the Saracen influence before it was incorporated into other materials to form the Perceval tale, and then did *C* and *G* (their source or sources) eject all traces of that influence? Or, on the other hand, did the Perceval tale as such linger long enough in the land of its birth to exist in at least two variants, one showing the Saracen influence, one not? The solution remains yet to be discovered.

converted to Christianity"—one day after fighting Galleron of Galway and Tristan (cf. Malory, XII, xii-xiv; and Rhys, *Arch. Leg.*, p. 298). It is interesting that the Palomydes-uncle-of-Perceval version and the Gahmuret-father-of-Perceval version have the tent for a common possession; cf. the tent in *Lanslet*, 4735 ff.

## CHAPTER V

### THE RESCUE OF THE LADY FALSELY ACCUSED

[EIGHTEENTH, NINETEENTH, TWENTY-FIRST INCIDENTS (see pp. 78-79, *supra*)]

#### TWENTY-THIRD INCIDENT: THE TENT LADY AGAIN

- I. *SP*, 1817-84.
- II. *Pd*, 260.
- III. *C*, 4865-5072.
- IV. *W*, *V*, 960-1097.

#### TWENTY-FOURTH INCIDENT: THE OVERTHROW OF THE TENT LORD

- I. *SP*, 1885-1948.
- II. *W*, *V*, 1098-1435.
- III. *C*, 5073-5375 (204 of these lines occur in MS Mons only).
- IV. *Pd*, 260-61.

#### TWENTY-FIFTH INCIDENT: THE HERO SLAYS A GIANT

- I. *SP*, 1949-2104.
- C*, *W*, *Pd*, wanting.

#### TWENTY-SIXTH INCIDENT: PERCEVAL HEARS NEWS OF HIS MOTHER

##### A. *Mother and Son Reunited*

- I. *SP*, 2105-2272.

##### B. *Mother's Death*

- II. *C*, 4748-4801, 7761-93; *Pd*, 254-55.
- III. *W*, *IX*, 1280-1320.

#### TWENTY-SEVENTH INCIDENT: REUNION OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

- I. *SP*, 2273-2280.
  - II. *G*, 189 ff.
  - III. *W*, *XVI*, 361-434.
- Compare the conclusions of *Ty*, *Card*, *Red Sh*.

#### TWENTY-EIGHTH INCIDENT: THE DEATH OF THE HERO

- I. *SP*, 2281-88.

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#### THE FALSELY ACCUSED LADY ALSO APPEARS IN

*Yv*.—*Yvain*, Foerster's ed. (1906).

*LF*.—*The Lady of the Fountain*, Nutt's reprint of Lady Guest's *Mabinogion*, pp. 167-96; *Loth*, II, 1-43.

In this chapter nine incidents will be discussed. They are subdivided into two groups: the first group includes three incidents postponed from the preceding chapter and four that are to be summarized below; the second group embraces only the two incidents that bring *SP* to an end. The seven incidents of the first group constitute the last of the "stories" that seem to me to have entered into the composition of the Perceval tale as it appears in *SP*. Evidence for the existence of this story outside of *SP* appears in two versions of the Iwain tale. *W* and the tale of Erec furnish cumulative evidence.

First the divergences between *SP* and *C* will be pointed out; then the Tent Lady-Giant story will be taken up.

A summary of the English poem will make the remainder of the tale clear:

XXIII. Leaving Lufamour's castle, Perceval rode forward till he came where the Tent Lady was bound to a tree. He freed her, and had from her the account of how she was being punished by her husband for her supposed infidelity at the time of Perceval's visit to her tent. XXIV. The Tent Lord rode up, and was overthrown by the hero and compelled to restore the Lady to favor. XXV. When Perceval offered to return the Lady's ring if his own were restored to him, he learned that the ring had been given to a fell Giant; he set off to the Giant's hold to seek it, and there encountered and slew the Giant, who had been persecuting his (Perceval's) mother. XXVI. Told by the Giant's porter that his mother was in the neighboring forest, he went to seek her, found her demented, returned to the Giant's hold with her, and by the aid of the benevolent porter cured her by a (magic) drink. XXVII. With his mother he returned to his queen-wife and his realm. XXVIII. Afterward he went to the Holy Land, and there he was slain. *Finis*.

It will be interesting to have next an outline by incidents of *SP*, *C*, *W*, and *Pd*, and useful, because it will free us from the necessity of summarizing the latter part of *C*.

*SP*.—¶ Father's Marriage ¶ His Death ¶ Mother's Flight ¶ Boyish Exploits ¶ Religious Instruction ¶ Forest Knights ¶ Advice ¶ First Tent Lady ¶ Court ¶ Red Knight's Insult ¶ His Death ¶ Witch ¶ Uncle ¶ Messenger ¶ First Battle ¶ Entering the Castle ¶ Second Battle ¶ Gawain Encounter ¶ Arthur Entertained ¶ Third Battle ¶ Marriage ¶ Departure ¶ Second Tent Lady ¶ Tent Lord ¶ Giant ¶ Reunion with Mother ¶ Return to Lufamour ¶ Death.

*C*.—¶ Forest Knights ¶ Advice ¶ Mother's Death ¶ First Tent Lady

¶ First Red Knight ¶ Court ¶ Second Red Knight (Death) ¶ Gorne-  
mans ¶ Entering Besieged Castle ¶ First Battle ¶ Second ¶ Third Battle  
¶ Departure ¶ Grail Castle ¶ "Giermaine Cosine" (=Sigune) ¶ Second  
Tent Lady ¶ Tent Lord ¶ Arthur's Search ¶ Snow Scene ¶ Second  
Court ¶ Loathly Damsel. . . . (Most of the rest of *C* concerns Gawain's  
deeds.)

*W.*—¶ Belakane ¶ Father's Marriage (to Herzeloyde) ¶ His Death  
¶ Mother's Flight ¶ Boyish Exploits ¶ Religious Instruction ¶ Forest  
Knights ¶ Advice ¶ Mother's Death ¶ First Tent Lady ¶ First Sigune  
¶ First Red Knight ¶ Court ¶ Second Red Knight (Death) ¶ Gurne-  
manz ¶ Entering Besieged Castle ¶ First ¶ Second ¶ Third Battle ¶ Mar-  
riage ¶ Departure ¶ First Grail Castle ¶ Second Sigune ¶ Second Tent  
Lady ¶ Tent Lord ¶ Arthur's Search ¶ Snow Scene ¶ Second Court  
¶ Cundrie . . . ¶ Gawain Encounter . . . ¶ Reunion with Condwiramur.

*Pd.*—¶ Father's Death ¶ Mother's Flight ¶ Boyish Exploits ¶ Forest  
Knights ¶ Advice ¶ First Tent Lady ¶ Red Knight's Insult ¶ Court  
¶ Red Knight's Death ¶ Unknown Knight Sent to Arthur ¶ Sixteen Knights  
ditto ¶ Lame Uncle ¶ Castle of Lance and Salver ¶ Foster Sister ¶ Arthur's  
Search (part) ¶ Entering Besieged Castle ¶ First ¶ Second ¶ Third  
Battle ¶ Departure ¶ Second Tent Lady ¶ Tent Lord ¶ First Nine  
Sorceresses ¶ Snow Scene (Arthur's Search, completed) ¶ Second Court  
(¶ Adventures, pp. 266-70) ¶ *Pd(b)* ¶ Loathly Damsel ¶ . . . .

A glance at the foregoing outlines shows that, for the portion of the tale that succeeds Perceval's departure from the castle of the Lady whom he has rescued from siege, *SP* and *C* agree upon only two incidents; though one of *C*'s incidents (Arthur's search for the hero) finds its equivalent in an earlier part of *SP*. *W* agrees with *SP* in two more incidents than does *C*, the Gawain encounter and the reunion with the Besieged Lady, who is the hero's wife in *SP* and *W* but not in *C* and *Pd*. The discussion now concerns itself with the two incidents upon which *SP* and *C* agree; then some comments are to be offered on portions of *C* that have no equivalents in *SP*.

It is a fact—but one whose significance is not wholly clear—that the three incidents involving the Tent Lady and her Lord (the visit to the tent, the meeting with this Lady in distress, and the downfall of the Lord) are those sections of the whole tale upon which the four versions approach nearest to a complete agreement. After this general statement, it will be more helpful for us to examine differences between *SP* and *C* than agreements. In the matter of

the lapse of time *SP* is definite and consistent; the hero stays with the Besieged Lady a year lacking a few days, from one Christmas to the next (1769-70, 1785, 1801-5). *C* is confused and self-contradictory; when Yones reports to King Arthur the death of the Red Knight, the fool predicts that Kex will be wounded by Perceval within forty days (2444 ff.), and the wounding occurs shortly after the second meeting with the Tent Lady, but meantime the Lady has had her clothing worn out and her skin tanned by cold and burnt by heat (4900 ff.); Perceval left his forest home when the meadows were covered with spring flowers, but slightly over forty days later he tumbled Kex into a snow-bank. *Pd* is silent (but cf. p. 253, ll. 1 and 12-13). Wolfram perceived Crestien's inconsistency and avoided it;<sup>1</sup> his version omits the forty days of the prophecy of the fool (= Sir Antanor), says that the Tent Lady (Jeschute) "suffered more than a whole year" (III, 706-7), and practically asserts that the hero dwelt with the Besieged Lady for months (IV, 1285-1306). Again we find that *W* in departing from *C* approaches *SP*; and it does so in this instance, I think, because Wolfram had before him, in addition to *C*, a version which laid stress upon the hero's marriage and his consequent tarrying with the Besieged Lady for a length of time, probably a year as in *SP*. Further, the kinship between *SP* and *W* as against *C* is observable here in several details. Five such points are: (1) in *SP* the Tent Lady recounts to Perceval the visit to the tent, but, though he knows he was the visitor, he keeps silence now; in *W* she recognizes him and tells him he caused her trials: in *C* neither apparently recognizes the other, and the Lord is the one who, later in the tale, tells of the visitor at the tent. (2) In *SP* the hero takes his helmet off and lies down with his head on the Lady's knee; in *W* he rides along with his helmet off because of the heat (though very soon afterward he is to find the ground snow-covered): in *C* there is no hint of anything similar. (3) In *SP* and *W* Perceval gives his version of the visit to the tent after the Lord has been vanquished: in *C*, after the Lord's account but before the battle, Perceval acknowledges that he was the visitor. (4) In *SP* and *W* the Tent Lord's past history is given, and, though the two versions offer different accounts, they show significant

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wolfram's perplexity, VI, 42-52.

resemblances (cf. chapter I, p. 19, *supra*<sup>1</sup>): in *C* there is no hint out of which these accounts could have grown. (5) In *SP* and *W* there is an elaborate accounting for the ring the hero had taken; in *SP* the ring is not returned, in *W* the ring is returned but the brooch is not; in *C* there is no hint concerning the return of the ring, it is of no more consequence than the pasties Perceval had eaten.

In *C* the Snow Scene succeeds the overthrow of the Tent Lord (whom Perceval sends with messages to court):

The King seeking the hero and the hero riding at random arrived at almost the same place. Perceval was riding through the snow that had fallen in the night when he observed three drops of blood fallen from a bird wounded by a falcon. Blood and snow reminded him of the white and red in the face of his love. He rested his face against his lance, and sank into a deep revery. Pages of the court brought news to camp of the stranger transfixed in the snow, and Saigremors went out to fetch him before the King. Perceval roused just enough to unhorse Saigremors. The boastful Kex met a like treatment, and was sore wounded by his fall. Gawain arrived, courteously secured Perceval's attention, and made himself known; Perceval rejoiced, learned of Kex's wound, and announced his name. The two knights went in gladness to Arthur's camp. (In *C* this is the first meeting between Perceval and Gawain.) The King and his court returned in joy to Carlion; and next day the Loathly Damsel arrived (*C*. 5533-6022).

The Snow Scene is analyzable into three elements: the revery, the wounding of Kex as the fulfilment of a prophecy, and the juxtaposition of the downfall of the braggart Kay and the success of the courteous Gawain. The revery over drops of blood in snow is a widespread *donnée*, and is much older than Crestien.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, in *C* it appears in its truncated form; in what is probably the better (older) type of the incident, the remembered lady has black hair, and there is some object present to recall that to the lover's mind. Such is the case in *Pd*, and we have been assured that the Besieged Lady has black hair and brows (*Pd*, 257); but *C* says the Lady's hair was like fine gold. The revery was undoubtedly inserted

<sup>1</sup> Orilus' attempt to grasp Parzival in the battle, and the humiliating treatment he receives, of being tucked under Parzival's arm like a sheaf of grain and then laid across a log (*V*, 1242 ff.), recall the Red Knight's threat in *SP* (681-84) to cast Perceval into the pool like an old sack. No such language or deed could be permitted to Ither (Red Knight), who had become, in *W*, the most refined of knights.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zimmer, *Keltische Studien*, II, 201-8; Nutt, *Stud.*, 137.

bodily into the tale, but how early is uncertain. Its absence from *SP* warrants us in assuming, until adverse evidence is available, that the insertion occurred after the splitting off of *SP*'s ancestor from the parent stock. The wounding of Kay has no essential connection with the revery. Three incidents or points make up the Kex story as *C*<sup>2</sup> has it: the wounding of those who honor Perceval at court, the prophecy of harm to Kex within forty days, and Perceval's overthrow of the seneschal. So far as I can see at present, an early form of the tale probably possessed the maiden at court who was to laugh only when the best knight in the world should come. Her presence in *C* and in *Red Sh* (though in a different place) is the foundation for my belief. To the lady with the prophetic laugh *C* (or its ancestor) annexed the fool with his forty-day prophecy and its fulfilment. And it was this prophecy and its fulfilment plus Crestien's desire to have his tale begin in the spring<sup>3</sup> that introduced two different clocks into *C*—to the confusion of Wolfram.<sup>3</sup> *SP* apparently descends from a variant in which the prophecy of the coming of the hero is known at court, but in the form of "books" (*SP*, 561-68), and not in connection with a maiden's laugh. The juxtaposition of Kay's boorishness and Gawain's courtesy is one of the commonest incidents in romance.<sup>4</sup> No such scene occurs in this portion of *SP*, though the encounter with Gawain offered an excellent opportunity for it. And judging from the sentiment concerning Kay expressed in *SP*, 297 ff. (Perceval meets the Forest Knights), I believe that if the author of *SP* had ever heard of the Snow Scene of *C* he could never have forgotten it or refrained from using it in his poem.<sup>5</sup>

It has been argued that the battle between Perceval and Gawain,

<sup>2</sup> *W* and *Pd* agree with *C* in part.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the beginning of *Erec* and of *Yvain*.

<sup>4</sup> In *Pd* there is no mention of forty days; actually, however, about six weeks intervene (three weeks and three days being spent with the Besieged Lady). Aside from the mention of snow there is no indication of the season.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Erec*; *Yvain*; *Golagros and Gawain*; *Avowing of Arthur*; *Marriage of Gawain*; *Gowther and Carle of Carlyle*; etc., etc. An interesting parallel appears in *Manonawn* (74-75), where Kaytuch, near the camp of Finn, overthrows the surly Conan (who comes as ambassador to him), but goes pleasantly enough with the courteous Keeltje.

<sup>6</sup> Perceval endangers the life of Kay once only in *SP*; once only in *C*, in the Snow Scene; twice in *W*, in the Snow Scene and when he was first at court, Book III, 1123-26



in *SP*, and later the hero's revery<sup>1</sup> in the midst of the battle with Gollerothirame were drawn from *C*'s Snow Scene. As for the first, there is no such battle in *C*; its real source will be pointed out a few pages below. The revery in *SP* is poorly motivated (the author attempts to be humorous), and its cause and surroundings are different from those in *C*. Both poems have a revery connected with a combat; there may have been a revery in their (distant) common source; it is hardly possible that one account is drawn from the other.

The last of the stories we have to discuss includes, in whole or in part, seven of the incidents in *SP*—the two meetings with the Tent Lady, the battle with Gawain, the entertainment of King Arthur, the overthrow of the Tent Lord, the fight with the Giant, and the rescue of Perceval's mother. The parallels that bear witness to the existence of such a story are drawn from two versions of the Iwain tale, the anonymous Welsh,<sup>2</sup> and Crestien's French.<sup>3</sup> In the sequence of incidents *SP* is more like the Welsh; in content it presents a number of things that appear in the French but not in the Welsh.

*Yvain* and the Welsh *Lady of the Fountain* are summarized, but the repetition of summaries of *SP* is obviated by the table.

*Yvain*.—A. [Once at court Calogrenant told how, seven years before, he had passed through the adventures of the Hospitable Host and the Giant Herdsman, and had been overthrown by the Knight of the Rain-making Fountain. King Arthur determined to attempt the same adventures; but Yvain desired them for himself, and so he stole away alone. He followed the designated route, mortally wounded the Fountain Knight, and pursued him into the castle of the Fountain Lady (Laudine).] ¶ Yvain came to a deserted place within the walls and there met a damsel (Lunete), the chief companion of Laudine. Lunete presented Yvain a Gygean ring, by which means his life was preserved, took him to a room, and gave him food and drink.

<sup>1</sup> See Newell, *Leg. of the Holy Grail*, 82.

<sup>2</sup> The question of whether or not the Welsh is dependent upon Crestien's poem has not yet, so far as I know, been determined. Its answer either way can only affect, not overthrow, my results. And my study may assist in determining the relationship.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Rhys devotes the fourth chapter of his *Arthurian Legend* to an elaborate comparison between the tales of *Peredur* and *Owein*. He makes much use, however, of *Pd(b)*; and if the conclusion I reached in chap. iii, *supra*, be well founded, the use he has made of *Pd(b)* has rather misled him. The comparison I propose to institute is quite different from his.

B. ¶ Lunete persuaded Laudine it was wisest to marry Yvain that he might guard her Fountain and her castle. ¶ Before the wedding feast was over, Arthur and his knights arrived at the Fountain. Kay secured permission to test the adventure, and he was promptly overthrown by Yvain, who recognized his opponent but was himself unrecognized. When Gawain offered combat, Yvain made himself known and praised him. [The great battle between Yvain and Gawain, in which neither knows who the other is, comes near the end of the poem, where it occupies over 1,800 lines.]

C. ¶ Yvain conducted Arthur and his attendants to the castle of the Lady whom he had just married, and there entertained them with a great feast.

D. ¶ At Gawain's importunity Laudine consented that Yvain return with the King's retinue on condition that he would remain away not more than a year. She gave her husband a ring that would prevent wound or imprisonment so long as he wore it and remembered her. [The Gygean ring is of no further consequence.] Yvain remained away for a year and a half. ¶ Then, deprived of his ring by a messenger, he became insane, was restored by a magic balm, and secured his attendant lion. ¶ Wandering one day in sadness, he came to the place of the Fountain and paused to bemoan his fate. From "the chapel" an imprisoned woman told him that she was more unhappy than he. He learned that she was Lunete and had been imprisoned by the Fountain Lady's seneschal on a charge of treason (= her friendship for the recreant Yvain), and was to be burnt unless a knight would champion her cause. She explained, further, that she knew of only two knights who would be willing to defend her, Gawain and Yvain, and her messenger had failed to reach either of them. Yvain promised to be her champion on the morrow.

E. Below.

F(a). ¶ Now, following her directions, he sought a castle in which to spend the night. Entering the castle, he was made sorrowfully welcome, and was told that the castle was being besieged by a Giant, Harpin de la Montaigne,<sup>1</sup> who desired the castle lord's daughter.

G. ¶ The lord's wife was Gawain's sister, and when the daughter pleaded with Yvain in the name of Gawain, her uncle, he consented to fight the Giant. [His previous engagement was the cause of his hesitancy.]

F(b). ¶ He slew the Giant, and departed.

E. ¶ He reached the Fountain to find Lunete's enemies preparing to burn her. He was forced to do battle against the seneschal and his two brothers all at once, but, aided by his lion, he vanquished the three, and burned them in the fire prepared for Lunete.

B(b). ¶ Yvain had many other adventures. Near the end of the poem the battle between Yvain and Gawain is elaborately prepared for. ¶ The two fought, neither knowing who his opponent was, in the presence of Arthur

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ogier le Danois*, 9815: "Manda Harpin ki forme ot de gaiant."

and his court until they recognized each other. Then each wished to acknowledge the other the victor. ¶ Later Yvain was reunited with his wife.

LF. ¶ The Welsh *Lady of the Fountain*.—A. [Kynon (instead of Calogrenant) told of his adventures. Owain (= Iwain) decided he would test them. He met the Hospitable Host, passed the Giant Herdsman, mortally wounded the Black Knight, the defender of the Fountain, and followed him inside the castle walls.] ¶ His life was saved here by Luned, who gave him a Gygean ring, and then led him to a chamber where she tended him and gave him the richest of food and drink.

B. ¶ Luned next persuaded the Countess of the Fountain that it was wisest for her to marry Owain. ¶ Three years later Arthur became uneasy at the absence of Owain, and, persuaded by Gwalchmai (= Gawain), went with his household to seek him. When the Fountain was reached, Kay begged permission to test the adventure, and was promptly overthrown by the defender (now Owain). Others of the household were overthrown by Owain, who knew them but was not recognized by them. At length Gwalchmai, so clad as to be unrecognized by Owain, offered battle, and the contest was bitter and long, lasting through three days until a blow revealed Gwalchmai's face; then the two friends embraced.

C. ¶ Owain conducted the entire party to the castle of his wife, the Countess, and feasted them royally.

D. ¶ After three months of feasting, Owain secured his wife's permission to return with the King to court and to deeds of chivalry, to be absent three months. [No statement occurs here concerning the second ring.] ¶ Forgetful, he stayed away three years; whereupon a messenger from the Countess deprived him of his (hitherto unmentioned) ring. He went mad from grief, wandered in desert places, after a time was cured by a magic balm, and secured a lion for his page. ¶ One evening he came to a meadow, and while eating supper he heard someone sigh thrice in distress. The sighs came from Luned, imprisoned in a vault and being punished for her loyalty to Owain. Two pages of the Countess' chamber had imprisoned her and were going to put her to death on the morrow unless Owain should return to fight them both in her behalf. Owain (unrecognized by her) promised to aid her next day.

F. ¶ At her directions he sought a castle in which to spend the night. He entered the castle and was welcomed, though sadly, being told that a Giant was going to reinforce his demand for the castle lord's daughter by attacking the castle next morning. Owain next day slew the Giant (by the help of the lion), saved the castle lord's daughter, and restored to him his two sons.

E. ¶ Owain then returned to the meadow where Luned was prisoner, and fought with the two young men till, with the aid of his lion, he slew them; thus he restored Luned to freedom, happiness, and honor. ¶ Owain returned with Luned to the castle of the Countess; thence he went to Arthur's court, taking his wife with him. . . .

The sequence of incidents is:

SP—A	B	C	D	E	F	G	
LF—A	B	C	D		F		E
Yv—A	B(a)	C	D		F(a)	G	F(b) E B(b)

The Welsh does not make the lady saved from the Giant a kinswoman of Gawain (incident G), and places the punishment of the Damsel's persecutors (E) after the battle with the Giant (F). SP places the explanation that the lady persecuted by the Giant was a relative of Gawain (G) after the fight with the Giant (F). Yv splits the battle with Gawain (B[a] and B[b]), puts the explanation concerning Gawain's kinswoman (G) in the midst of the account of the fight with the Giant (F[a] and F[b]), and places the punishment of the persecutors (E) after the fight with the Giant (F).

The following table indicates that the agreements extend to a considerable degree of minuteness:

A. *The Helpful Damsel*

The hero in the Damsel's apartment . . . . .	SP	LF	Yv	C	W
Is given food and drink . . . . .	SP	LF	Yv	C	W
And a magic ring . . . . .	SP	LF	Yv		
His life is in danger if he should be discovered . . . . .		LF	Yv	C	W

B. *The Battle with Gawain*

The hero has just married . . . . .	SP		Yv		
Arthur and knights approach the wife's castle . . . . .	SP	LF	Yv		
The hero issues against them . . . . .	SP	LF	Yv		
And overthrows Kay . . . . .		LF	Yv		
He and Gawain fight a battle . . . . .	SP	LF	Yv		W <sup>a</sup>
Neither recognizing the other . . . . .	SP	LF	Yv		W
Accident brings recognition . . . . .	SP	LF	Yv		W
And joyful embrace . . . . .	SP	LF	Yv		W

C. *The King Entertained*

The hero leads the royal party to the castle of his wife . . . . .	SP	LF	Yv
And all are sumptuously feasted . . . . .	SP	LF	Yv

<sup>a</sup> In Yv Arthur is seeking the Wonderful Fountain; in SP and LF he is seeking the hero.

<sup>b</sup> The combat is placed near the end of the poem.

*D. The Damsel Persecuted*

A year, or more, after his marriage.....	SP	LF	Yv	W
The hero is back near the place where he first met the Damsel.....	SP	LF	Yv	
He hears a cry of distress.....	SP	LF	Yv	
Finds the Damsel a prisoner.....	SP	LF	Yv	
Persecuted for her connection with him.....	SP	LF	Yv	C W
He befriends her.....	SP	LF	Yv	
Hears her story.....	SP	LF	Yv	
And promises his aid.....		LF	Yv	

*E. The Persecutor Punished*

1. The Tent Lord approaches.....	SP			C W
He and Perceval encounter.....	SP			C W
He is overthrown.....	SP			C W
And forced to restore the Damsel to his favor	SP			C W
2. Iwain approaches the place of combat.....		LF	Yv	
A fire is ready to burn the Damsel.....		LF	Yv	
Iwain is ready for battle.....		LF	Yv	
He overthrows the persecutors.....		LF	Yv	
And burns them in the fire intended for the Damsel.....		LF	Yv	

*F. The Fight with the Giant*

The hero is sent by the persecutor.....	SP			
by the Damsel.....		LF	Yv	
To a castle owned by a Giant.....	SP			
attacked by a Giant.....		LF	Yv	
Who seeks to win a lady.....	SP	LF	Yv	
The Giant's garments and weapons are con- ventional.....	SP		Yv	
The Giant is slain.....	SP	LF	Yv	

*G. The Rescue of Gawain's Kinswoman*

The lord of the castle.....		LF	Yv	
Or the porter.....	SP			
explains what the Giant seeks.....	SP	LF	Yv	
The lady is Gawain's niece.....			Yv	
Gawain's sister (or aunt).....	SP			

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Perceval's mother is cured of insanity.....	SP			
Iwain is cured of insanity.....		LF	Yv	
By a magic balm or potion.....	SP	LF	Yv	

The Tent Lord's suspicion is one of the chief threads binding together the hero's adventure at the Tent and the events subsequent to the relief of the Besieged Lady. In recounting the happenings at the Tent, *SP* makes no mention of the husband; *C*, *W*, and *Pd* detail his return, rage, and determination to punish his wife. There was, of course, no ground for his jealous suspicion; if, however, we might for a moment grant the possibility that he had heard the events of a folk-tale now fairly common, we could pardon in him at least a feeling of uneasiness. I shall, at a venture, subjoin summaries of these tales; then I shall point out some striking similarities, and also some difficulties in the way of considering them as connected with the source of the story of the Falsely Accused Lady of the Perceval tale.

*Coldfeet*.—After varied adventures, Coldfeet came to an old man who told him that there was only one day in the year in which to accomplish his task, for the Queen and her guardians slept for just a single day; he must reach the Queen before noon, and leave the island before nightfall; and "The sword of light will be hanging at the head of her bed, the loaf [of bread] and the bottle of water on the table near by." Coldfeet came to Lonesome Island. Before noon he was in the chamber of the Queen, and she lay asleep. "He found every thing there as the old man had told him. Seizing the sword of light quickly and taking the bottle and the loaf, he went toward the door; but there he halted, turned back, stopped a while with the queen. It was very near he was then to forgetting himself; but he sprang up, took one of the queen's garters, and away with him."

A Hag had sent Coldfeet to the Island to procure these wondrous articles. Returning as he came, he reached the Hag's castle, and she demanded sword, bottle, and loaf. . . . "With that Coldfeet drew the sword of light, and sent her head spinning through the sky in the way that 'tis not known in what part of the world it fell or did it fall in any place. He burned her body then, scattered the ashes, and went his way further."

"In three quarters of a year the Queen of Lonesome Island had a son." When he was two years old, she set off to find his father. Following the traces of the magic loaf, bottle, and sword she came to Coldfeet, and heard his story. "'Have you the golden garter?' [she asked]. 'Here it is,' said the young man. 'What is your name?' asked the queen. 'Coldfeet,' said the stranger. 'You are the man,' said the queen. 'Long ago it was prophesied that a hero named Coldfeet would come to Lonesome Island without my request or assistance, and that our son would cover the world with his power. Come with me now to Lonesome Island.'"

*D'yerree.*—Cart and his two brothers set off to the well of D'yerree-in-Dowan [=end of the world] to fetch a bottle of water from the well, which was a "well of cure." An old man assisted Cart to reach the island of the Well, and informed him that the Queen of the island and her attendants and her guards likewise were asleep, and would not waken for a year and a day. He gave Cart two bottles to be filled from the well. Cart reached the well, and filled his bottles. Then he saw a castle all lighted. He drew near, and looked in through a window; he saw a table, and on it a loaf of bread, a knife, a bottle and a glass. He entered, and found that the loaf and the contents of the bottle never grew less; so he took them with him. He entered a chamber, and saw the Queen with her eleven waiting-maids asleep, and a sword of light hung over the Queen's head. He kissed the Queen and her eleven maids, and none awoke. With sword, bottles, and loaf, he returned to the old man. . . . Of course, Cart returned to his brothers; they made him drunk, stole his bottles of water, and pretended to the King that they were the heroes and Cart a fool. . . . A year later the Queen awoke, and her eleven maids likewise, and each of the twelve found a young son in bed beside her. The Queen set off to find out who was the father of her son. She followed his track, recovering the sword of light, the never-failing bottle, and the loaf of bread where he had successively left them, arrived at the King's castle, tested the brothers Art and Nart, proving them false claimants, and restored Cart to high honor. Then taking him as her husband, she returned to the Well of D'yerree-in-Dowan.

*Lonesome Island.*—The King of Erin was led into following a pig through the sea (swimming) to an island. Landing, he went to a fine castle, which had a low door with a broad threshold all covered with sharp-edged razors, and a low lintel of long-pointed needles. With a jump, he entered. "When inside he saw a great fire on a broad hearth, and said to himself, 'I sit down here, dry my clothes, and warm my body at this fire.' A table came before him with every sort of food and drink, without his seeing anyone bring it. He ate and drank. When he grew tired, he looked behind him, and if he did he saw a fine room, and in it a bed covered with gold. He went to bed and slept. In the night he waked, and felt the presence of a woman in the room. He reached out his hand towards her and spoke, but got no answer; she was silent." In the morning he left the castle, only to find himself in a beautiful garden whence he could not escape. The same things happened the second night and morning. He jumped into the castle the third night. The same events occurred. He waked in the middle of the night. "'Well,' said he, 'it is a wonderful thing for me to pass three nights in a room with a woman, and not see her nor know who she is!' 'You won't have to say that again, King of Erin,' answered a voice. And that moment the room was filled with a bright light, and the King looked upon the finest woman he had ever seen. 'Well, King of Erin, you are on Lonesome Island. I am the black pig that enticed you over the land and through the sea to this place, and I am queen of Lonesome Island. My two

sisters and I are under a Druidic spell, and we cannot escape from this spell till your son and mine shall free us." . . . Years later the King's son was put under spells. He had come to Erin, and was hated by the King's wife (his step-mother?), who put him under spells to fetch her "three bottles of water from Tubber Tintye, the flaming well." He started off, accompanied by his two half-brothers, the queen's sons. He left the brothers, one after the other, behind him, and went on; he crossed successfully a river of fire, and passed a belt of poisonous trees, and came to a castle. [About this time he first learned who his father was, though he had often wondered about the matter.] As his horse shot past an open window of the castle, the prince sprang in. The whole place was filled with giants, long slippery eels, bears, and beasts of every kind, sleeping their period of seven years' sleep. The prince passed to a stairway, entered a chamber, and found there a beautiful woman asleep; he went on by, and passed through eleven more chambers, and each sleeping woman was more beautiful than the last. He made no stop till he reached the thirteenth chamber. When he opened the door to this chamber, the flash of gold took his sight away; he paused till he could see again. Here was a golden couch on golden wheels, and the couch went round and round continually. On the couch lay the Queen of Tubber Tintye, more beautiful than any of her maidens. At the foot of the couch was Tubber Tintye itself—the well of fire; and it turned with the couch. With a spring, the prince landed in the bed, and he stayed there six days and six nights. On the seventh day he came down, and filled his three bottles with water from the flaming well. In the golden chamber was a table of gold, and on the table a leg of mutton with a loaf of bread; and if all the men of Erin were to eat for a twelvemonth from the table, the mutton and bread would be the same as at first. The prince ate, and then took the bottles of water with him [but not the mutton and bread]; he wrote a note explaining his visit, and put it under the Queen's pillow; then he left. . . .

Of course, the two cowardly half-brothers claimed to be the heroes.

When the Queen of Tubber Tintye opened her eyes, she found a six-year-old boy in bed beside her, found the letter, and set off to discover her visitor. She came to Erin, by a test brought about the destruction of the two half-brothers, forced the King to send for his son, the hero, and by the device of a magic girdle forced the King's wife to acknowledge that her sons had been bastards, caused the King to burn his false wife and marry the Queen of Lonesome Island, and then she and the prince were married.

*Golden Mines.*—After fighting for three days, Jack slew a dragon. Each day Jack had been wounded, and each night he had been cured by a friendly old man, who "took down a little bottle of ointment, and rubbed it over Jack, and no sooner did he rub it over him than Jack's wounds were all healed as well as ever again." . . . Jack came to a castle, entered, and wandered till he came to the sixth room, where he found the Queen asleep. He kissed her, took a jeweled garter, that was lying by the queen's bedside, a loaf of bread that could



never be eaten out, a bottle of wine that could never be drunk out, and a purse that could never be emptied. The purse, wine, and bread were left at certain stages upon his return journey. Later they served the Queen as clues upon her search. She traveled over Jack's route, and finally found him, through all of his disguises, because of the garter.

*Kg of Eng.*— . . . Jack, the youngest of the King's three sons, came to a castle guarded by giants, lions, and fiery serpents, but all were asleep for the space of one hour. Jack entered the castle. "Turning to the right, upstairs he runs, enters into a very grand bed-room, and sees a very beautiful Princess lying full stretch on a gold bedstead, fast asleep. He gazes on her beautiful form with admiration, and he takes her garter off, and buckles it on his own leg, and he buckles his on hers; he also takes her gold watch, and pocket-handkerchief, and exchanges his for hers; after that he ventures to give her a kiss, when she nearly opened her eyes. Seeing the time short, he runs down stairs." . . . Of course, the Princess sought him, and a year later found him; and they were married.

*Brown Bear.*—The King of Erin had three sons. The King lost the sight of his eyes and the strength of his feet. His three sons set off to bring three bottles of the water of the Green Isle. John, the foolish youngest, was ill-treated by his brothers. But only John, helped by a Brown Bear, three giants, and an eagle, reached the Isle. "'Now, John,' says she [the eagle], 'be quick, and fill thy three bottles; remember that the black dogs are away just now.'" He filled his bottles out of the well; and he saw a little house. He entered. In the first chamber he saw a full bottle of whiskey; he drank some, and the bottle was still full. He took the bottle. In another chamber he found a never-failing loaf, which he took; in another, a cheese. "Then he went to another chamber, and he saw laid there the very prettiest little jewel of a woman he ever saw. 'It were a great pity not to kiss thy lips, my love,' says John." Then on the eagle's back he left the Isle. He returned by way of the giants' houses, where he left whiskey-bottle, loaf, and cheese, on condition that they should be given to a woman if she called for them. Of course, his brothers were treacherous, and John was defrauded. . . . The Lady of the Green Isle "became pale and heavy; and at the end of three quarters, she had a fine lad son." She set off to seek his father, and by following the route of the bottle, loaf, and cheese, and by using magic, she discovered John, restored him to honor, and she and John were married. End. (Campbell, *Tales*, I, 168-80.)

The folk-tales furnish a *raison d'être* for several rather arbitrary, if not unreasonable, matters in the Tent adventure (cf. chapter II, *supra*). First, there is the Lady's ill-timed nap; in *Pd* she was awake throughout, in *C* and *W* asleep part of the time and awake the rest, but in *SP* asleep throughout. The continuous sleep was a necessity in the hero's visit in the folk-tales. In *SP* there were no

attendant maidens; in some (not all) of the folk-tales there were, and they were asleep too; in *C* they were out of sight gathering flowers. *Second*, that the bread, meat, and wine are important in the Tent adventure is apparent, but why they are, is not. In the folk-tales these articles were never-failing (the never-failing loaf, meat, and bottle were by no means confined to this group of tales). If in the source of the Perceval tale they started off as never-failing, but somewhere lost their magic power, their importance could linger on. And the equable division in *SP* could, indeed, be a remnant of the never-failing quality: *he ate his fill, and left just as much as there was before he took any* degenerating into *he ate his fill, and left just as much as he took away*. *Third*, the token the hero carries away is a garter in the folk-tales, a ring in the Perceval tale. The garter was, in the circumstances, probably the more natural trophy; the ring is the garter's substitute, rather than equivalent, and its origin will be pointed out later. Perhaps *W*'s "fürspan" is the real descendant of the garter. *Fourth*, the story of the Tent Lady is responsible for the introduction into the Perceval tale of the one-year period of time, though as it now stands this story has no especial reason for covering just a year. But if the Tent adventure had an ancestor like, say, *D'yerree* or *Brown Bear*, the specification of the time as one year is not hard to account for. *Fifth*, if, again, the Tent adventure had such an ancestor, the "hall" (= castle) of *SP* is nearer to the source form than the Tent of the other versions.

There are several difficulties in the way of considering the Tent adventure and the folk-tales akin. *First*, the similarities are confined to the Tent adventure (the first meeting with the Tent Lady), and, as the argument given in part above and in part below makes clear, the Tent adventure is closely bound to incidents that come later. *Second*, the Queen in the folk-tales married her visitor; but the Tent Lady could not marry Perceval; another damsel had already been set apart for him. Whence the Tent Lord could arise is a query. *Third*, the similarities of the folk-tales are mainly with the Perceval, not with the Iwain, tale; yet the two latter tales drew upon a common source for their story of the Suspected Lady.

The resemblances are interesting, but the discussion need not

go farther until we have more grounds for suspecting a kinship between the folk-tales and the Tent adventure.

I have spoken of the Tent Lord's suspicion (the jealousy of Laudine's seneschal is its equivalent in the Iwain tale) as one of the main threads of connection in the Suspected Lady's story.

The second link to connect the Tent adventure with subsequent events is the Tent Lady's ring. In *SP*, *Yv*, and *LF* there are two rings. Lunete's ring of darkness, so far as I can see, lies outside of our comparison. The mother's ring in *SP* is to be compared with a ring of recognition in *Conall* and *LD*. Yvain's second ring, the one of magic power, received from Laudine, is the equivalent of the one Perceval takes from the Tent Lady, who asserts that its wearer can be neither wounded nor slain (*SP*, 1857-64). Comment on the connection with the "stone of victory" in *Red Sh* will be made in the Conclusion.

The giant fight of *SP* I thought, for a time earlier in my study, had an analogue in a giant combat in Wauchier's *Continuation*, (2388o ff., same in Wisse and Colin's German rendering). But the similarities are not very specific. The trouble with any giant's single combat is that it is very much like every other one; all have been conventionalized. The giant is fond of the flesh of beautiful damsels; he appears for battle, clad usually in skins and armed with a fearsome club;<sup>2</sup> the fight is furious; the hero maims

<sup>2</sup> In the odd description of the club in *SP* I hoped for a clue, but little has come of it. The following account contains, besides the embellished club, a caldron of cure that may be compared with the magic draft and the bath given to Perceval's mother.

*Thief*.—King Conal overcame and bound the Thief, who saved his life by telling a story of how he had been nearer death than he was at this time [a common device of plot-structure in these tales]: . . . "The big giant waited and waited, grew angry, took his great iron club with nine lumps and nine hooks on it. . . . He ran toward me, raised the club, and brought it down with what strength there was in him. I stepped aside quickly; the club sank in the earth to the depth of a common man's knee. While the giant was drawing the club with both hands, I stabbed him three times in the stomach, and sprang away to some distance. He ran forward a second time, and came near hitting me; again the club sank in the ground, and I stabbed him four times, for he was weaker from blood loss, and was a longer time freeing the club. The third time the club grazed me; and tore my whole side with a sharp iron hook. The giant fell to his knees, but could neither rise nor make a cast of the club at me; soon he was on his elbow, gnashing his teeth and raging. I was growing weaker, and knew that I was lost unless someone assisted me. The young woman [giant's captive] had come down, and was present at the struggle. 'Run now,' said I to her, 'for the giant's sword, and take the head off him.' She ran quickly, brought the sword, and as brave as a man took the head off the giant. 'Death is not far from me now,' said I. 'I will carry you quickly to the giant's caldron of cure, and

the giant, topples him over, and dispatches him. Such accounts are common, and examples need not be enumerated. My reason for thinking the Perceval and the Iwain giant combats related is—aside from their type similarity and their occurrence in sequences of events otherwise similar—that in each case the hero relieves a distressed kinswoman of Gawain by slaying the monster. Mr. Nutt reached the decision that the giant battle was a part of the primitive form of the Perceval tale; and Mr. Brown concluded that the giant battle was, likewise, an event in the primitive Iwain tale. The topic is reverted to in the Conclusion.

In the account of the mother, *SP* weaves in two matters that show resemblances to the Iwain tale. The first, her kinship to Gawain (*SP*, 1441, 1457), has just been referred to. The other is her dementia. To expand this: (a) In *SP* the mother sees a ring she had given her son, and thinking he must be dead, she becomes insane: Iwain has taken from him a ring his love had given him, and thinking she is now lost to him, goes insane. (b) Both wander in the woods and live like wild animals.<sup>1</sup> (c) The mother is cured by a drink that had been brewed by the giant, hence it is, of course, magical; then she is given a bath: Yvain is cured through the kindness of the Lady of Noroison, who has him anointed with a balm (magical, of course) given her by Morgue the Wise (2946-47).

The similarities shown by *SP*, *Yv*, and *LF* are too numerous, too specific, too significant to be explained as due to chance or as romance commonplaces: in all three versions a damsel, not the

give you life,' said the young woman. With that, she raised me on her back, and hurried out of the cellar. When she had me on the edge of the caldron, the death faint was on me, I was dying; but I was not long in the pot when I revived, and soon was as well as ever." [The hero gave some of the giant's treasure to the woman, and they parted.]—J. Curtin, "Black Thief and King Conal's Horses," *Hero Tales*, 93-113, esp. pp. 110-11.

<sup>1</sup> Madness and magic balm both occur in the tale of Blaiman, though not together.

*Blaiman*.—Blaiman's uncles were left with his wife on a ship and they sailed away with her [cf. the treachery in *Red Sh.*, etc.]. When Blaiman returned, "he found neither wife, ship, nor uncles before him. He ran away like one mad, would not return to his father-in-law, but went wild in the woods, and began to live like the beasts of the wilderness. One time he came out on an edge of the forest, which was on a headland running into the sea, and saw a vessel near land; he was coming to his senses, and signalled." [No magic was used for his cure; but elsewhere in the tale an old woman three different times "put him into a caldron of venom, and then into a caldron of cure" to heal his wounds.]—J. Curtin, "Blaiman," *Hero Tales*, 373-406, esp. 402, 383, etc.

heroine, furnishes food, drink, and a magic ring to the hero; and months later is found in duress and freed by him from punishment inflicted because of her real or supposed kindness to him. In all three versions the hero and Gawain do battle until they recognize each other, the two being warm friends. In all three the hero entertains King Arthur at the castle of the heroine; in two versions this entertainment is combined with the hero's wedding-feast and in two versions it occurs immediately after the combat between the hero and Gawain. In all three the hero does battle against a giant to free a lady, who, in two versions, is a near relative of Gawain. In all three the battle against the giant is closely associated with the rescue of the damsel whose ring the hero has worn.

The evidence of *W*, which has been of signal worth in other places, does not wholly fail us in connection with this story. *W* has preserved, though in a different place, the battle between Perceval and Gawain, when the two heroes fight without recognizing each other. The combat is noticeably like the Yvain-Gawain combat in *Yv*.<sup>1</sup> It comes, moreover, near the climax—or is it the climax?—of the story in *W* in which Gawain's sister and his aunt play important parts. Parzival does not have occasion to free the sister from persecution, but he does have a single combat with the man (a magician?) who wishes to marry her, the battle being fought in Gawain's own behalf. And King Arthur is in the neighborhood at the time, though he is to entertain rather than be entertained. Again, in all four versions Perceval meets the Tent Lady upon the first occasion near his boyhood home, and in *SP* the second meeting appears to occur in the same neighborhood (2137-40; but cf. 2201-5); and *W* localizes the first meeting in the forest of Broceliande.<sup>2</sup> *Yv*, of course, localizes the Fountain

<sup>1</sup> Miss Weston (*Mod. Lang. Quarterly*, I [1898-99], 200) noticed this similarity: "I am strongly tempted to believe that such a fight was an integral part of the early Gawain legend. We have no fewer than four instances, the foemen being respectively Parzival, Yvain, Gareth, and Méraugis. That the Yvain story has been affected by the Perceval legend also seems probable from the circumstances of the maiden's reproaches to Yvain, which strongly resemble the incident of the Grail Messenger's attack upon Perceval." The Gareth battle occurs in Malory, Book VII, chap. iii. *W*, of course, preceding this combat is paralleled by the last portion of *C*.

<sup>2</sup> The ways in which Wolfram (or his source) may have been led to the use of "Broceliande" (Prizljan) are too many to permit any great weight to attach to this bit of evidence, but taken with other things, it appears worthy of statement.

and its chapel, Lunete's prison, in Broceliande. Wolfram (or his source, again) must have recognized a resemblance between the Tent Lady's woes and Enid's trials (in *Erec*), for he made Jeschute (his Tent Lady) the sister of Erec (III, 542-43). And *Erec* shows still another resemblance. The two incidents that constitute the history of the Tent Lady are easily comparable to the story of the Lady of the Silver Bed<sup>1</sup> in the Joy-of-the-Court episode in *Erec* (5878-6161) and the Welsh *Geraint* (pp. 243-44); the two differences being, first, that the Tent Lady's history is divided, other incidents intervening between its two parts, while the other Lady's history is not so broken; and, second, the Tent Lady is sorely punished while the Lady of the Silver Bed is not, but it is interesting that much of the rest of *Erec* is devoted to an account of how a wife is persecuted by her husband.<sup>2</sup> And we round back into connection with the Gawain battle and the battle for Gawain's relative in that in *W* these battles come just after Gawain's adventures (Books XI, XII) of the Wonderful Bed and the breaking of a bough in a magical garden, which are roughly comparable to the adventures of the Joy-of-the-Court episode.

*W*, then, appears to be, or to have drawn upon, a variant of the story preserved in *SP* and *Yv*.

*SP* and *C* tell the Tent Lady's story with considerable differences. Which is the older version? If, for a *First Supposition*, we grant that *C* is the older, then we must account for *SP* by assuming a contamination from some form of the Iwain tale. But while any reader of the tales will, I believe, perceive easily the resemblances here pointed out between *SP* and the Iwain tales, I do not believe he will arrive at the conclusion that *SP* is the result of the

<sup>1</sup> Had the Lady been husbandless, I should have said cf. the golden bed of the tales summarized above, pp. 105 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In *Geraint*, as in *SP*, *C*, and *W*, the husband suspects his wife's faithfulness to him; in *Erec* Crestien found a different motive for Erec's conduct. I see no reason why the *Erec* connection should have suggested "Broceliande" to Wolfram. The Joy-of-the-Court episode is usually considered as developed from a *fee* adventure (it is so much abbreviated it is a difficult subject to form any conclusions about). Many scholars (cf. Brown's "Iwain," *Harv. Stud. and Notes*, VIII) hold the Fountain Lady tale to be of similar descent. Brown was of the opinion that the story of Lunete's punishment and rescue was not a part of the early form of the tale (*op. cit.*, p. 133).

It looks not improbable to me that a single story was the common ancestor of the Joy-of-the-Court portion of *Erec* and (a highly rationalized form of it) of the Tent Lady and the Lunete portions of *SP* and *Yv*.

crossing of an Iwain tale through a condensed version of *C*. Such an assumption will leave *W* still unaccounted for. If, for the *Second Supposition*, we presume *SP* to represent the earlier form, then the disappearance from *C* of magic and of the giant, and along with the giant the relative of Gawain, is to be accounted for in accordance with a principle enounced above (p. 67). The absence from *C*, also, of the hero's marriage, and the Gawain battle and the entertainment of the King, which were closely associated with the marriage, may receive some light from the considerations that follow. The *Second Supposition* carries with it as a corollary the assumption that *LF* rather than *Yv* preserves the original sequence of events in the Iwain tale. If so, then Crestien, or his predecessor, deliberately shifted the battle between the hero and Gawain to serve as an imposing end for his version of the Iwain tale. Since *C* is unfinished, it is certainly possible to hold that the author intended to transfer some or all of these three omitted(?) events to the end of his Perceval tale.<sup>1</sup> The possibility is strengthened by the fact that just that transference occurs in *W*, where the Gawain combat, Gawain's kinswoman (both a sister and an aunt), and the reunion, if not the marriage, with the heroine (already a wife) provide the material for the last of the tale. And lastly, chapters I, III, and IV, *supra*, have all shown that *SP* represents the early form of the tale more closely than *C* does.

The results set forth in this chapter have not so ample a foundation as those in chapter III, but it appears to me to be almost certain that the story of the Suspected Lady was incorporated into a framework to make the tale of Perceval. This chapter, too, accords completely with the preceding chapters in furnishing evidence that the tale was old enough and popular enough to occur in variants, for *SP*, *C*, and Wolfram-Kiot's version appear to have drawn upon variant forms of the Suspected Lady's story. The manner of incorporation of story into frame-tale will be discussed more in detail in the Conclusion. The points of contact were a magic ring (or stone) already present in the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story, the King's search for the hero, and the hero's departure from and reunion with his wife.

<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the last of *C* looks like the torso of an elaboration of this story on a large scale.

In *SP* the hero is reunited with his mother and then returns to his wife, and the tale ends. In all versions, Perceval's purpose in leaving the Besieged Lady (Lufamour-Blancheflur) is to seek his mother. In the Grail group he is not to find her, for she died when her son parted from her in the forest; he hears of her death, and is shortly afterward plunged into a new set of adventures. In *SP* she is still living, and he returns with her to the city of his queen-wife. To this extent, *Card* ends much as *SP* does. In *Red Sh* the hero, on his way returning to court, finds his father acting as a ferryman, to which lowly position he has been reduced by the hero's deserting companions; taking him upon his back (cf. the parallel situation in *SP*), the hero bears him to court and by his might secures him a position of honor; the hero at this time and place rejoins his bride.

Wauchier and Manessier make their hero a celibate. *C* is unfinished. In *Pd* the hero does not marry the Besieged Lady, but he is no celibate, his fourteen years with the Empress of Cristinobyl being a trial marriage at least. In the other tales the hero marries the lady he has freed from siege, and through her, in most cases, wins a crown and realm; and such, doubtless, in a preliterate day, was the consummation of the Perceval tale.



## CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, I wish to restate succinctly the elements of the tale so far as these have been found separable; to discuss the probable growth of these elements into the Perceval tale; to present a brief comment upon the home and early travels of the tale; and to offer a word upon the relation of *SP* to *C*.

The events studied in chapters I and II—the father's death, the widow's flight, the forest rearing, the boyish exploits, the revelation of knightly life, and the hero's departure to seek the court of the king—are, as we have seen, some or all of them to be found in a goodly number of widely scattered tales. But these events are not such as could ever have stood alone, could, that is, ever have formed a "story," for by nature they are but precursory to those events of the hero's life that made it the life of a hero.

The results of chapter III are such as to show that the Perceval tale includes a group of events—the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story—that occurs in completer form elsewhere. Hence we decided there that this "story" was in some manner absorbed into a frame-tale.

Chapter IV, which is concerned with what is the climax of the plot in *SP*, the adventure by which the hero wins his wife, adduces the materials of the Saracen Influence. The events are not such as to compose a "story." And the materials for the discussion of this "influence" are scanty.

In chapter V we find that *SP* contains a series of incidents that occur elsewhere in so much the same fashion as to lead us to believe that they, combined with some events from chapter II, likewise constitute a story, the Tent Lady-Giant story. Again the materials, confined to three versions, are scanty; but since the contamination of either tale by the other (the Perceval and the Iwain tales, in the versions now accessible) would be a hypothesis most difficult to maintain, we decided upon the existence of this story in some form independent of either of these tales. The later events, the hero's search for his mother, his reunion with her, and his return

to his wife, as they occur in *SP*, are subsidiary, and can never have stood alone as a story.

These observations, then, lead us to conclude that the various Perceval tales, or versions of the Perceval tale, are sprung from a frame-tale that developed by incorporating into itself stories which had previously had an existence independent of it. Such a process of growth by absorption appears, so far as I am able to see, by no means abnormal. *Pd* affords a striking exemplification of it within our own cycle. The modern folk-tales show it frequently.

Thus far we have depended upon analysis mainly. Let us extract the accretionary stories, and then test our results by the method of synthesis. In making the subtractions we need to bear in mind that if we were to deduct everything in the incorporated story we should tear away parts of the frame-tale, for, I take it, it was a similarity of some incident or situation in the frame-tale to an incident or situation in the added story that led the teller of the tale to make the incorporation.

A-STAGE.—*The Frame-Tale*.—The frame-tale had in it approximately these incidents:

(1) The father's death by violence (variants), (2) the mother's flight to a forest, (3) the boyish exploits, (4) the mother's explanation in reply to her son's questions, (5) the hero's discovery of the existence of a knightly life (variants), (6) the mother's advice (in some simple form) when the hero leaves the forest, (7) the arrival at court, (8) the heroine's request for aid, (9) the hero's rescue of the heroine (variants), (10) the hero's marriage and consequent succession to high estate, (11) the messenger to inform the king of the hero's success, (12) a battle with a giant to save a damsel, (13) the hero's reunion with his mother.

Perhaps three other incidents were parts of this tale. The revenge motive was distinctly present, and there may have been an incident embodying it. Again, if the hero left his wife, there was the incident of their reunion. And finally, there may have been, following upon (11), the incident (11*x*), the king's visit to the hero.

Concerning (12), the battle with a giant, I am in doubt. It may have had another position, or it may not have been in the tale at all. The incident could have entered the Perceval tale first in the Tent Lady-Giant story, or its presence in the tale already in some form could have helped bring about the absorption of that story.

I have included the incident in the frame-tale because so many versions of it have a battle with a giant in some form. Incident (4), the mother's explanation, was originally for the purpose of showing the lad's simple-mindedness, and it probably included either just the lad's question and the mother's reply that they two were the only people in the world, or this and the additional explanation as to how to slay beasts and bring them home for food.

As for variants, the father's death, incident (1), must have been accomplished by violence to account for the mother's terror and flight, but variants could easily have arisen; he might be slain by treachery as in *Card* and *W*, in battle as in *Fool*, or in tourney as in *Pd* and *SP*. In incident (4) the means by which the knowledge of knighthood (or martial life) came to the hero was of secondary importance, and hence variants arose; it might be the appearance of knights as in the Perceval tale and *Card*, the sight of a dead knight in armor as in *Libeaus Desconus*, or the sight of a horse as in *Fool*. The place in which we should expect most variants is the account of how the heroine was won. The more the feat showed wonderful power in the hero, the better the tale. The heroine might need rescue from an enchanter who held her in bespelled form as in *Card*, or she might be under a spell that could be removed only by the accomplishment of a particular deed as in *Ty*, or (when we reach a narrator far removed from the folk-singer in temper) she might be held besieged by normal men as in *C*.

In this stage the hero was not yet definitely named, and was in appearance a fool but in reality a predestined hero. He was the only one who could rescue the heroine, and his coming had been prophesied.

In the summary I have not supplied details; and it is wholly possible the frame-tale was never quite so simple as I have made it appear. But even as it is, this summary appears to me to be the outline of a tale; it is too specific and (if the reader will supply the meanings the phrases have borne in the foregoing pages) too detailed to be considered merely a formula, such, for example, as the "Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula."<sup>1</sup> The ninth and the tenth incidents are formula-like, and the reason for their being so was stated a few sentences back.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hahn, *Arische Aussetzung und Rückkehr Formel*; Nutt, *Stud.*, 153-54.

This frame-tale underlies a pretty large number of tales, which have grown into their present form by the incorporation of different materials. And it is this twofold fact that accounts for the tantalizing resemblances that scholars have often noted. A table will be the best means for showing what I mean. The numerals refer to the incidents in the summary. A bracket means that the evidence of the tale seems to me to warrant the inference that the bracketed incident, though now gone, was once a part of the tale.

<i>SP</i> .....	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	..	11x	12	13
<i>W</i> .....	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	..	9	10	11	11x?	..	..
<i>C</i> .....	..	..	..	[4]	5	6	7	..	9	..	11	..	..	..
<i>PC</i> .....	I	2	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<i>Pd</i> .....	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	..	9	..	11	..	..	..
<i>Card</i> *.....	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	12	9	10	11	..	13
<i>Libeaus D</i> ...	..	2	..	..	5	..	7	8	12	9	10	11	..	13: two MSS
<i>Fool</i> .....	I	2	3	4	5	..	7	..	9: O'Daly's {	version }		12	..	..
<i>Ty</i> .....	I	2	3	..	5	..	7	8	9			..	..	13?

\*This summary accounts for much the larger part of Schofield's "Version A" (*Hors. S. and N.*, IV, 154-57); of the nine sections, or groups of incidents, he sets up, his 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8 do not appear in my summary. The right of his 4 to a place in the summary is dubious; his 3 is rather vague; 8 is really a part of 7; and 7 is a good deal of a commonplace (see his note). I am not sure but that an adventure with a fay or an enchantress, which lies at the bottom of Schofield's 6, was a part of our frame-tale (cf. the fay in *Ty* and the faery in *Fool*), but the indications are faint and much overlaid, and consequently I have preferred to risk an omission rather than make an expedition into the dangerous realm of the fays.

*Bel Inconnu* and *Wigalois* have been much changed; cf. Schofield, *op. cit.*

B-STAGE.—The second stage is the result of the incorporation of the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story into this frame-tale. From the evidence of *SP*, *W*, *Pd(b)*, *G*, and the folk-tales we reconstruct the story with about the following incidents:

(14) A magician's insult to the king and departure with some object belonging to him (teeth, cup), (15) the despised youth's offer to avenge the insult, (16) (a) his start and (b) early adventures, (17) (a) the meeting with a damsel (b) who gives him directions and (c) a magic ring (stone of victory), (18) (a) the encounter with the three young men (with or without their father), (b) who are the hero's relatives, and (c) under a spell, (19) (a) the battle in their behalf and (b) the death of the crone of the magic balm, (20) the hero's second visit to his relatives, (21) the death of the magician and the recovery of the king's property, (22) the hero's return to court, (23) the bestowal of honor by the king, (24) (a) the marriage of the hero (b) to the damsel who had given him the ring.

Doubtless this summary is incomplete. The hero was pretty surely accompanied by companions, who may or may not have proved false to him; in *Red Sh* they prove false and carry off the heroine;<sup>2</sup> in *Conall* companions join him on the way and assist him,<sup>3</sup> and he provides wives for them; in *Pd(b)* only one companion (Etlym) appears, else the account is rather similar to *Conall*. Between incidents (21) and (22) may have occurred the reunion of the hero and his parent, as in *Red Sh*; in *Conall* the father is found in duress and righted in the same position but in another manner.

The presence of the incident in which the hero receives a magic ring from a damsel is assured, first, by the nature of the battle he had to fight, in which he would need magic to overcome magic; and, secondly and more strongly, by the testimony of *Pd(b)*, *Red Sh* variant *d* (and cf. the magic shoes of variant *a*), and by the interchange of rings in *Conall* and other tales.

The table shows the sequence of incidents in the more important versions of the story. It is arranged in two divisions.

Versions unaffected by the Saracen Influence:

<i>Red Sh</i> . . . .	14	15	16	17a	18	19	..	20	21	22	23	24
<i>Variant e</i> . . .	14	15	16	17	18	19	.	20	21	22	23	24
<i>Ransom</i> . . . .	14	15	16	17a	18ac	19	..	20	21	22	?	24
<i>Champion</i> . .	(Sub)	(Sub)	..	..	18	19	..	20	..	22	..	24a
<i>Fear Dubh</i> . .	(Sub)	(Sub)	..	..	(18)	19	..	20	(21)	..	..	..
<i>Faolan</i> . . . .	..	..	..	17ab	18ac	19	18b	(20)	..	22	..	24
<i>Manus</i> . . . .	..	..	..	(17?)	18	19	..	20	..	..	..	..
<i>Dough</i> . . . .	..	..	..	(17)	18ac	19	..	20	..	..	(Sub)	24a
<i>Kil Arthur</i> . .	..	..	..	17ab (+Sub for c)	18ac	19	..	20	..	22	..	24
<i>Big Men</i> . . .	(Sub)	(Sub)	..	..	18ac	19	..	20	(Sub)	..	..	..
<i>Lawn D</i> . . . .	14	15	16	17	..	..	..	..	21	22	23	24
<i>G</i> . . . . .	..	..	..	..	18	19	..	20	..	..	..	..

Versions subjected to the Saracen Influence (the list is given here; the Influence itself produced the fourth, or *D-Stage*; cf. *infra*):

<sup>2</sup> At court one of these companions insults the heroine (who has just greeted the hero with a laugh), and is punished therefor; perhaps such an incident should be included in the summary, for doubtless it is the original of C's account of the damsel who first honors Perceval and is insulted by Kay, who in his turn is punished by Perceval. The insult to the king in C's source drew the insult to the damsel into the court scene as a companion piece.

<sup>3</sup> *Conall* is so far altered that the insulter has ceased to be a magician, is overthrown by the hero, and then becomes one of the companions.

<i>SP</i> .....	..	17 <sup>ac</sup>	....	14	15	16 <sup>a</sup>	21	19 <sup>b</sup>	18	24	19 <sup>a</sup>	..	..	..	..
<i>Conall</i> ...	24	16	17	14	15	..	21	19	18 <sup>ab</sup>	20	..	22	23	..	..
<i>W</i> (Par- zival)...	..	17 <sup>ac</sup>	17 <sup>b</sup> (Sigune)	14	15	16 <sup>a</sup>	21	..	18 <sup>a</sup>	20	..	..	..	..	..
(Gah- muret)...	..	16 <sup>ab</sup>	18 <sup>b</sup>	..	..	..	..	19 <sup>a</sup>	..	20	..	22	..	..	24 <sup>a</sup>
<i>Pd(b)</i> ....	..	..	....	..	..	16	18 <sup>ac</sup>	17	19	20	..	22	14	21	24

The process by which the story was absorbed into the frame-tale, expounded in chapter III, may be recapitulated here. The magician's arrival at court and insult to the king (14) dislocated the arrival of the messenger bearing the heroine's request for aid (8). The other incidents of the story, excepting (17), the meeting with the damsel of the magic ring, then followed down to (21), the death of the magician and the return of the king's property, though the sequence was altered. Incident (17), the gift of the magic ring that was to be needed in the combat against the magician, the carlin, and her allies, could not easily have been omitted; with the new order of events produced by the incorporation, it was necessary for the hero to meet the damsel either between his departure from court and his encounter with the magician insulter or before his arrival at court; and the latter was early preferred. Incidents (18) and (20), the hero's two visits to his relatives, were easily amalgamated, or one visit was dropped; the *G* and *Red Sh* versions of the story show two visits, *Conall* shows only one, and *Pd(b)* was congealed while in the intermediate state: *G* makes it sure that a two-visit form of the tale was associated with Perceval. It was after the second visit that he went to the relief of the heroine. By giving to a single hero the deeds of two, the tale-teller had placed himself in the way of providing his hero with two wives, which looks to us like a problem to solve, though solving it would have given little trouble to the teller of *Red Sh* variant *b*, who says of his hero that he "married the three ladies at once." Incident (22), the hero's return to court, was lost in incident (11), the sending of a messenger to court to announce the hero's success. Doubtless in earlier times the hero was said to slay all his enemies; later some of them were saved alive and substituted for the messenger of success; and the notion of sending captive knights to court was

one that would grow rapidly in favor with literary tellers of the tale. Incidents (23) and (24) were swallowed up in the marriage of the Besieged Lady and the honors and estates won thereby.

Other changes have been commented on in chapters III and IV: how the Uncle came to be made uncle of the heroine in *C*; the death of the Uncle's sons or brothers in the war for the heroine in *C* and *W*; how Sigune is the representative of a damsel in the incorporated story; etc. Some additional comment concerning the damsel with the ring is to be made a few pages below.

The tale at the end of the B-Stage, then, would be about thus:

(1) The father's marriage; (2) his death in tournament or by treachery; (3) the mother's flight to the forest; (4) the boyish exploits; (5) the mother's explanation (or instruction); (6) the hero's meeting with knights in the forest; (7) the mother's advice (probably in simple form) at the hero's departure; (8) the meeting with a damsel who bestows a ring on the hero; (9) the arrival at court (king's welcome, the prophecy, etc.); (10) the magician's insult and departure with a goblet; (11) the hero in pursuit; (12) the magician overthrown and the goblet sent back; (13) the first visit to the relatives who need help; (14) the battle against the carlin and her allies; (15) the second visit to the relatives; (16) the messenger for aid for the heroine; (17) the battle to relieve her—this incident showing varying degrees of contamination from 13, 14, and 15; (18) the marriage feast; (19) messenger of success; (20) a battle with a giant to save a damsel; (21) the hero's reunion with his mother and return to his wife.

C-STAGE.—The third stage resulted from the weaving in of the Tent Lady-Giant story. The sources are too few for us to determine the limits of this story with any exactness. As near as the incidents may be stated, we find them as follows:

(22) The hero, entering a lady's castle, finds food and drink, and receives from the lady or her companion a magic ring; [next follows the hero's marriage, but the bride is not the lady who had bestowed the ring]; (23) the king desires to see the hero; (24) the king's arrival in the midst of the marriage feast; (25) the hero's encounter with the king's party—the battle between friends (one being Gawain) who do not at first recognize each other; (26) the king entertained; [the hero's departure from his wife]; (27) the meeting with the lady in distress because of her former connection with the hero; (28) the battle in her behalf; (29) the resulting battle with a giant, (30) which was fought to relieve a kinswoman of Gawain.

Three tales contain this story—*SP*, *Yv*, *LF*; a fairly full form of it appears to have been known to Wolfram's predecessor; and *C* and *Pd* contain emaciated forms of it.

Before it appeared in the Perceval tale, it was so far subjected to the influence of some such tale as the one of which Erec is the hero, that the person who persecutes the damsel of the ring for her kindness to the hero is her husband. Apparently madness connected with a ring was part of this story.

The points of similarity that led to the incorporation of story and tale were about these:—(a) incident (8), the meeting with a maiden who bestows a ring on the hero (preserved from the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story), and incident (22), the encounter with the damsel of the ring in the Tent Lady-Giant story—the magic ring and the need of it in each case being the points of contact, the former incident being absorbed into the latter, but determining the latter's position in the tale;<sup>1</sup> (b) incidents (16), the messenger seeking aid, and (23), the king's desire to see the hero; (c) the marriage feast

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me quite likely that the evolution of the Tent adventure may have been more complex than I have indicated above. In this footnote I may present one or two ideas concerning it that are based upon materials too scanty to entitle them to a presentation in the body of the paragraph. (a) The hero's meeting with a damsel who gives him a magic ring or token is a pretty well established event, drawn from the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story. (b) In some forms of that story the hero comes to the house of the Young Men, enters a room in solitude, finds food set out and helps himself, and then later (in another room?) meets with the sister of the Young Men, who welcomes him; such, more or less exactly, happens in *Foolan*, *Manus* (damsel is absent), *Dough*, *Red Sh* var. *d*. Nowhere does he find this damsel asleep. (c) Given the castle, the food, the going into more than one room, and the damsel, it would have been easy for some of the story of the visit to the sleeping damsel (as in *Lonesome*, for example) to enter. The original sleeping damsel is guarded by serpents, lions, and other monsters, whom the hero must escape while they too are asleep; in the reconstructed (euhemerized?) account, the monster to be avoided is the jealous husband. The precipitate from the commixture of these events, then, was in the tale ready to assist the absorption of the Tent Lady-Giant story.

*SP* knew only this form. But another form seems to have had this and in addition the meeting with the sister of the Young Men when she sat upon a hillside or by a forest and held on her knee the head of a sleeping warrior; from this second form sprang *C* and *W*, with their *germaine cosine* and *Sigune*.

When two women appear in the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story (as in *Pd(b)*, *Hookedy*, *Lawn D*, etc.), they were originally, I incline to think, but two appearances of the same personage; nevertheless the tales do not state as much, and I may be wrong in reading anything of the sort into them.

Miss Paton (*Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romances*, Boston [1903], pp. 153 ff.) equates the Empress of *Pd(b)* with Morgain la Fee. Doubtless both of the women in the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story were supernatural beings, but to equate either of them with Morgain is, so far as I can see, a mistake.



was an amalgamating point, drawing within its limits incidents (18), (19), (24), (25), and (26), the marriage feast and messenger of success in the frame-tale, and the king's desire to see the hero, his arrival in the midst of the marriage feast, and the hero's encounter with members of the royal household (especially Gawain) in the story; (d) incident (20), a battle with a giant to free a damsel, and the incidents (29) and (30), the battle with a giant to bring relief to Gawain's kinswoman.

After the setting up of this stage and before the time of any version that remains to us the tale must have continued to grow.

The mother's explanation, developed into the Instruction, was brought into a connection with the appearance of the knights in the forest, and the hero's error of supposing them God was worked out. The Advice and the incident at the Tent were correlated; in the stories used, the hero took a ring, and food and drink, and kissed the Lady; the kiss and the Lord's treatment of the Tent Lady were already established affairs; then the Mother's Advice was revised to include these matters: this explanation does not make the Advice seem natural in a mother's mouth, but it at least supposes natural steps by which the Advice could come to be what it is.<sup>1</sup>

The later parts of the tale, from the arrival at court on, do not appear to have needed much readjustment.

The name Perceval did not dispossess other names for the hero until the tale entered the third, or C-Stage.

At the end of the C-Stage the tale ran about thus:

(1) The father's marriage; (2) his death in tournament or by treachery; (3) the mother's flight to the forest; (4) the boyish exploits; (5) the mother's instruction; (6) the hero's meeting with knights in the forest; (7) the mother's advice (expanded) at the hero's departure; (8) the adventure at the Hall (or Tent), including the meal, the kissing of the sleeping lady, and the departure with her magic ring; (9) the arrival at court (king's welcome, perplexity, etc.);

<sup>1</sup> Of course I am aware that rationality is no essential in directions to a hero in folk-tales; he may be irrationally advised to do the absurdest things, which in the end prove to be the wisest things; but I wonder if we should not find, if we knew the whole truth, that the wise-absurd deeds were thought of first and then the irrational advice or instruction adapted to fit them? The interest of an audience in the bearing of such advice upon such deeds is similar to the interest in the connection of a riddle to its answer. And does one invent a riddle and then discover the answer, or think of an answer and then invent a perplexing question to fit it?

(10) the magician's insult and departure with the king's goblet; (11) the hero in pursuit; (12) the magician overthrown and the goblet sent back; (13) the hero's first visit with the relatives who need help; (14) the battle against the carlin and her allies; (15) the second visit to the relatives; (16) the heroine's messenger for aid; (17) the battle to relieve her—this incident showing varying degrees of contamination from 13, 14, 15; (18) the marriage feast; (19) the king's desire to see the hero (roused by the messenger's report of the hero's deeds) and departure to seek him; (20) the king's arrival in the midst of the marriage feast; (21) the hero's encounter with members of the king's household—the battle between two friends (hero and Gawain) who do not recognize each other at first; (22) the king entertained at the wife's castle; (23) the hero's departure to seek his mother; (24) the meeting with the lady in distress because of her former connection with the hero; (25) the overthrow of her oppressor; (26) the resulting battle with a giant; (27) the relief of Gawain's kinswoman persecuted by the giant; (28) the hero's reunion with his mother and his return to his wife.

D-STAGE.—Doubtless the tale, in the C-Stage, had minor variations for each narrator. But it appears to have entered into a new stage when two streams of the tradition became marked, of which one continued on its way with little alteration except such as came from weathering, while the other was changed by being subjected to the Saracen Influence. From the first stream came *C* and *G*; from the second, *SP*, *W*, *Pd(b)*, and parts of *Pd(a)*.

In chapter IV I have explained what I mean by "Saracen Influence"—not at all the influence of eastern tales or eastern adventures upon this tale, but the effect produced by a change of connotation in some of the phrases already present within the tale, and the consequent alteration in its supposititious geography. This influence appears not uncommonly in Gaelic tales. And *SP*, *W*, and *Pd(b)* show it. To account for its origin, there is no need to presume contaminations from Charlemagne or other romances, nor to suspect additions from persons who had been among the Crusaders.<sup>1</sup>

That the ancestors of *SP*, *W*, and *Pd(b)* hung more closely together than did those of *SP* and *C*, has been abundantly shown

<sup>1</sup> Some of my readers must have been surprised that I have made no mention of the "Celtic Other World." Scholars assure us that the terms Constantinople, Greece, Spain, Scotland, Castle of Maidens, the Town under the Waves, etc., are all substitutes for, or localizations of, the Other World; and doubtless they are right. It is perhaps true, further, that the "stories" I have been discussing are of mythological descent. It would be easy and entertaining to set

in the preceding pages—and this in spite of the fact that *SP* and *C*, exclusively, inherit two certain strong traits of family likeness, the instance of the hero's boorishness at court and the burning of the Red Knight's body, as discussed *supra*, pp. 44 ff. In the history of the father, the mother's flight, and the boyish exploits, *SP* and *W* (and even *Pd(a)* in part) stand together as opposed to *C*. In the account of Gurnemanz' children *W* contains (correctly) matter that could not have come from *C*. And *SP*, *W* (the account of Gahmuret), and *Pd(b)* are held together by the Saracen Influence. Compare the summary on pp. 120 ff.

The tale did not cease to develop within the D-Stage. In the *SP-W* stream the Red Knight and the Tent Lord were brought into contact with the hero's father; the old notion of the father's death by violence and something of a revenge motive lingered on dimly, and under its influence the Knight and the Lord, who were overthrown by Perceval, were made to meet and harm the father, but inasmuch as the death of the Red Knight and the downfall of the Tent Lord were already established events when drawn into the tale, the revenge motive was not sufficiently strong to affect them much, and consequently it lapsed—it is weak in *Fool*, a tale of the A-Stage.

Up to, and including, the D-Stage, the tale was a biographical and not a quest tale; it became a quest tale, in some versions, only when some additional materials were engrafted.

After the D-Stage, still two other stories were incorporated into some versions, the Grail and the Swan-Knight stories.

E-STAGE.—At just what point the Grail story entered the tale I must leave others to determine. That the account of the Grail

up an Other-World Visit to a Fay as the origin for one "story" (*Lonesome* and *D'yerree* would be excellent tales to build on); and an adventure against dark gods—who eventually develop into black men, then to Saracens—would make a good starting (or ending) point for the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story, which indeed does look like the offspring of a Solar Myth.

I have not felt forced to penetrate this hinterland in my search, and so I have stopped short of it. Too often, I think, Celtic material has behaved like the horse of the Slothful Gillie in *Gilla Decair*: the moment a student touched it, his hands stuck fast, and away it galloped with him to the Other World. And to drink of the milk of Paradise is, I suspect, as dangerous as to sip at the Pierian Spring. I believe that the theory of an Other-World visit can easily do us harm, blind our e'es as much as the Solar-Myth hypothesis bedazzled the orbs of our fathers. It explains so much that one almost begins to doubt if it can truly explain anything.

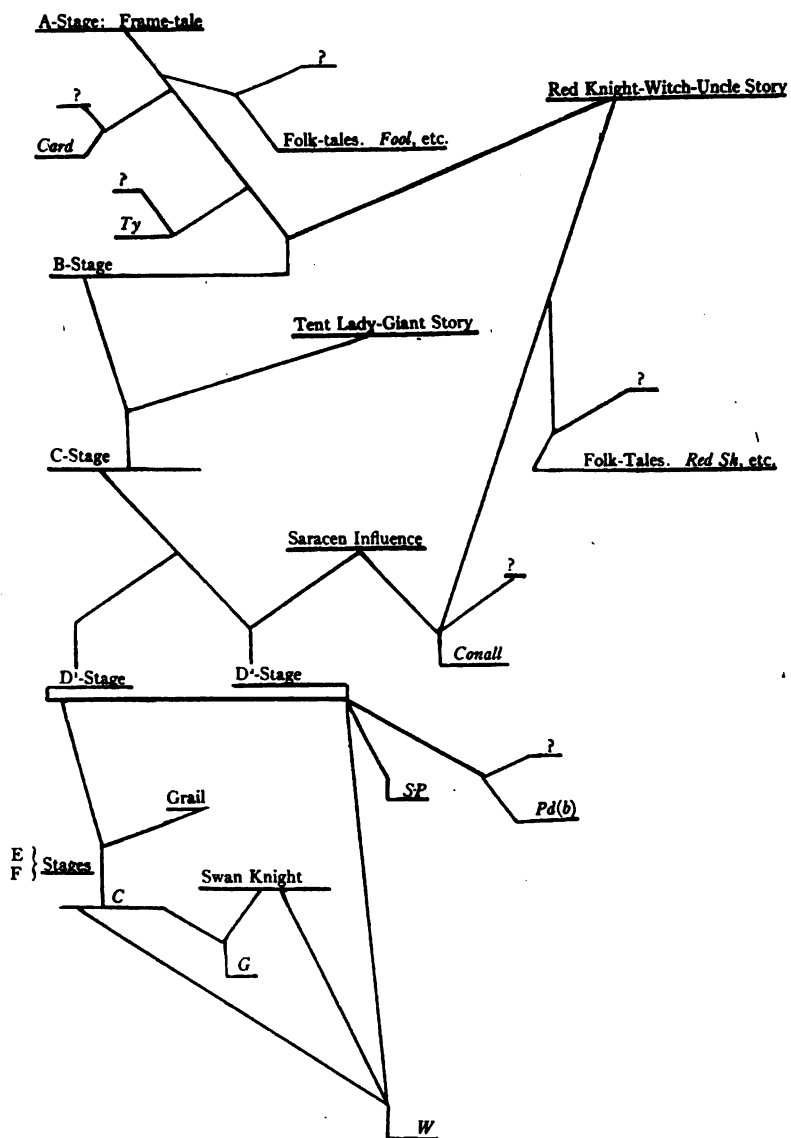
was a story incorporated into the Perceval tale appears to me no longer subject to doubt. But whether Crestien first incorporated the story<sup>1</sup> and Kiot used his version, or *vice versa*, or whether both had a common source, or whether Kiot's version had anything of the Grail in it, remains to be decided. Such few facts as I am able to perceive lead rather in the direction of a decision that Crestien was not the man who made the incorporation: (a) Crestien was not averse to magic and marvels (cf. *Erec*, *Yvain*, *Charrette*, and *supra*, p. 67, n. 2) but that part of *C* that deals with Perceval (the adventures connected with the Grail being excluded) has magic all expunged; (b) *C* appears to show the work of two hands—one man rigidly rationalized the Perceval tale to make it a fitting vehicle for the Grail story and omitted some parts of it, and then a second man, who did not know the original Perceval tale, revised the first man's work, supplying a few parts (especially if the disputed passage, ll. 1607–82, be genuine), and elaborated the Gawain incidents at the end, in which magic again occurs.

F-STAGE.—The introduction of the Swan-Knight story (*W*, *G*) may have preceded the E-Stage or followed it. This, too, is a problem for others to solve. *G*'s use of the Swan-Knight story and its freedom (at the same time) from the Saracen Influence render its position in the genealogical tale most difficult to determine.

In the table given on p. 128 I have endeavored to indicate, sketchily, the probable evolution of the Perceval tale.

Crestien is usually said to have obtained the materials for his tale of Perceval from either Welsh or Armorican sources. If my analysis of the tale, however, be accepted as approximately correct, we find that its constituent parts have retained their life longest and in the simplest shape in the lands bordering the Irish Sea and the North Channel and in the islands still to the north. We know that the Celtic inhabitants here are and were great story-tellers. The natural gateway through which their tales would reach English hearers would be the territory extending from Carlisle (or Edin-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Foerster's comment, *Karrenritter* (large ed., 1899), p. xciv, and pp. cxi ff.



burgh) to Chester. And that it was within this territory that the Perceval tale (into its D-Stage) took shape, appears to me in the highest degree probable. I have shown how certain folk-tales of the neighboring territory could have developed into the Perceval tale: the reverse is impossible; C, the oldest written version of the Perceval tale, could never have given rise to the other tales we have been studying. Two or three more facts may be mentioned as offering circumstantial evidence that this territory was the mother-country. *Pd(b)* is the form of the Red Knight-Witch-Uncle story that varies farthest from the norm; it is not unreasonable to suspect that this condition is due to the fact that while as yet in oral tradition, this version had got farthest away from home, was least subject, i.e., to the check of an audience more or less acquainted with it. The Addanc seems to be peculiarly a Welsh substitute for the Hag and her allies.<sup>1</sup> *SP* belongs by dialect to this territory, and *SP* is not to be accounted for as a descendant of any known French or other version. The tale could easily have been carried east to Edinburgh, Durham, York, or Lincoln, or to Wales, and thence to France. Finally, the geography of all the tales in the group we have studied accords better with the geography of this section than with that of any other.<sup>2</sup>

The first of the two serious objections that can be raised against this theory lies in the personal names. If *SP* did not owe its personal names—Perceval “de Galays,”<sup>3</sup> Arthur, Gawain, Ewain,

<sup>1</sup> The name of Peredur's father, Evrawc, equals York. Rhys comments (*Arch. Leg.*, 75, note): “For the legend which connects Peredur with the Yorkshire town of Pickering, see Stow's *Annales or General Chronicles of England* (London, 1615), I, 12.” For arguments that Welsh and Gaels came in contact in, or to, the north of Wales, see Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, II, 553–54, and Nutt, “Mabinogion Studies,” *Folk Lore Record*, V (1882), 1–32. On “Addanc,” see “Afanc” in the index to Rhys's *Celtic Folklore* (Oxford, 1901).

On this Northwest-of-England territory as a gateway for the entrance of Gaelic tales, cf. the last of the routes discussed by G. H. Maynadier in chap. v of his *Wife of Bath's Tale* (London, 1901).

<sup>2</sup> My argument for *SP*'s independence of C will not be affected by any geographical decision the reader may reach. He may prefer to believe that the Breton nobles and their followers who were established in northwest England by William the Conqueror from 1169 on (cf. Zimmer, *Z. f. n. Sp.*, XIII, 91 ff., and his references to Freeman's *Norman Conquest*) brought with them the account which was later to secure so firm a hold among the dwellers thereabouts. To me it appears much more probable that the Bretons and other Continentals learned the tales in the Borderland territory and carried them thence to France. Which of these two things happened or whether either ever really happened, cannot as yet be determined.

<sup>3</sup> C's form is *li Gallois*; *SP* has “the Galayse” (1643) and “de Galays” (1990).

Kay, Acheflour—to *C*, there is no reason for believing it ever came under the influence of the French version in the slightest degree. Since Wolfram (Kiot) and Gerbert attributed to Perceval that which they could not possibly have taken from *C*; since *Pd(b)* attributed to Peredur incidents which its author could hardly have suspected of being variants of some in *G*, even if he knew *G*; since a similar statement may be made of *SP*; and since we have determined that these attributions were correctly made; it is only fair to conclude that the hero became known as Perceval (Peredur, in Wales) early in the C-Stage of the tale, while it as yet lived an oral life and some time before it reached the hands of Crestien. The name Perceval was, it would seem from the attempts to explain it, a puzzle to the French romancers.<sup>1</sup> Hence, until some scholar can explain its source and meaning, it should not be offered as evidence against the geographical theory just propounded.

The second objection is to be found in the use of the Tent Lady-Giant story. But until the *provenance* of the Iwain tale and its component parts shall have been determined, this objection can be considered as ground only for a suspended, not for an adverse, judgment upon the theory.

To the reader who has been patient enough to follow me thus far, let me point out this fact: *PC*, *W*, *Pd*, and *G* have been most valuable as guides and controls in seeking and weighing evidence; but the use of no one of them, nor of all of them put together, has been an indispensable factor in the establishment of any of my main contentions, with the single exception of the matter of dates; for all of these contentions *could* have been based on the evidence of the folk-tales and the Iwain tale.

Further recapitulation is not needed to show that, first, *C*, with or without its prefaces and continuations, cannot have served as a source for some parts of *SP*; and, second, that its influence in any way is not necessarily to be supposed to account for any or all of *SP*.<sup>2</sup> The English poem is, I think, wholly independent of the French one.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Perlesvaus, Par-lui-fet, Perce-Forest, etc., with the explanation that Perceval means "through the valley," etc.

<sup>2</sup> The "considerable number of verbal coincidences" between *SP* and *C* of Newell, *Leg. of the Holy Grail*, 82, I have not discovered.

Most students have presumed that *SP* is either an adaptation or a translation of a French original. I see no way to prove that it is or is not. But I see no especial ground for believing that it is; and I think it will be simpler and more in accordance with all the evidence in the case to consider it an English singer's versification of a folk-tale that was known in his district of Northwest England.



